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HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND 1499–1914

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HISTORY
OF
SWITZERLAND
1499–1914

BY

WILHELM OECHSLI

LATE PROFESSOR OF SWISS HISTORY AT THE
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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

EDEN & CEDAR PAUL

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GENERAL PREFACE

The aim of this series is to sketch the history of Modern Europe, with that of its chief colonies and conquests, from about the end of the fifteenth century down to the present time. In one or two cases the story commences at an earlier date; in the case of the colonies it generally begins later. The histories of the different countries are described, as a rule, separately; for it is believed that, except in epochs like that of the French Revolution and Napoleon I, the connection of events will thus be better understood and the continuity of historical development more clearly displayed.

The series is intended for the use of all persons anxious to understand the nature of existing political conditions. 'The roots of the present lie deep in the past'; and the real significance of contemporary events cannot be grasped unless the historical causes which have led to them are known. The plan adopted makes it possible to treat the history of the last four centuries in considerable detail, and to embody the most important results of modern research. It is hoped therefore that the series will be useful not only to beginners but to students who have already acquired some general knowledge of European History. For those who wish to carry their studies further, the bibliography appended to each volume will act as a guide to original sources of information and works of a more special character.

Considerable attention is paid to political geography; and each volume is furnished with such maps and plans as may be requisite for the illustration of the text.

G. W. PROTHERO.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

HAD the author of this book lived to see its publication, he would naturally have written a preface, in which he would probably have said something about the circumstances in which the book came to be written. As he is, to the great regret of all fellow-historians, no longer alive, I may be pardoned if I take on myself, as editor, the task of acquainting the readers of the work with the most notable facts of his life.

Wilhelm Oeschli was born in October, 1851, at Riesbach, a suburb of Zurich. He came of a well-known middle-class family, long resident in that neighbourhood. His father was a builder. As a boy, he went to the Gymnasium of his native town, where he shewed an early taste for theology. On entering the University of Zurich, he continued that subject for a short time, but soon turned to the study of history, and eventually abandoned the idea of entering the Church. He attended the lectures of such notable teachers as Büdinger, Georg von Wyss, and Vögelin. While still a student he visited (in 1871) Leipzig, Berlin (where he sat at the feet of Theodor Mommsen), and Heidelberg. Returning to Zurich, he took his Doctorate in November 1873, his thesis dealing with a subject of Roman history. But his *Wanderjahre* were not yet over; and he made use of his temporary liberty to visit Paris, where he studied the history of the French Revolution in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and was specially concerned to trace the connection between the American revolutionary movement and the French. He did not carry these researches to a definite conclusion; but that he should have envisaged the subject shews not only the width of his interests, but also the philosophical bent of his mind. From Paris he paid short visits to England, Holland and Belgium. While in the French capital, he stood for the chair of German at the Collège Monge, and was selected, but gave up the post six months later on being appointed to a Professorship at the Gymnasium at Winterthur (1876). With this, his career as a teacher and as an author began.

Soon after returning to Switzerland, he wrote, on the invitation of the educational authorities at Zurich, two manuals for school

use—one on Universal History, the other on the History of Switzerland, models of conciseness, lucidity and knowledge. In 1887 he became Professor of History at the Zurich Polytechnikum, and, while acting in this capacity, wrote one of his best-known works, *The Origins of the Swiss Confederation* (1891), a book which at once made him famous. When his old teacher, Professor Georg von Wyss, retired, Oechsli was clearly marked out to succeed him; and accordingly, in 1893, he became Professor of Swiss History at the University of Zurich, a post which he held till the end of his life.

Like most other Continental Professors, he regarded research and the publication of results as an essential part of his professorial duties. The first notable result of his labours as professor was the issue, in 1899, of a volume on "Switzerland in the years 1798 and 1799." This may be regarded as a sort of prologue to his *magnum opus*, the first instalment of which speedily followed. He had been invited by the publishing house of Hirzel at Leipzig to take part in the great combined work known as "Staatengeschichte der neuesten Zeit," and in 1903 he published the first volume of his History of Switzerland, entitled "Switzerland under the French Protectorate, 1798–1813." As originally contemplated by him, the work was to consist of three volumes, the second volume extending to 1847, the third to the end of the period. But the amount of material which he collected proved too great to allow him to carry out his intentions. He worked at the archives in Paris and Vienna, unearthing much new matter; and meanwhile many particular episodes were illuminated by other writers. Consequently the second volume took him ten years to finish; and, when it appeared (1913), though filling over 800 pages, it extended only to 1830. The two volumes throw a flood of light, not only on the politics, but also on the economic life of Switzerland during these thirty-two years.

Shortly after the appearance of the second volume, the Great War broke out; and Oechsli's sympathies were painfully divided between the combatants, for, though a native of German-speaking Switzerland, and of a city possessing many intimate German connections, his feeling for France, and for Latin civilisation generally, was very strong. Perhaps it was owing partly to this mental conflict, and to the pressure of world-shaking events, partly

to the feeling of approaching age, and the consciousness of health already undermined, that he now abandoned the attempt to finish his book, and handed over his materials to a younger colleague, Professor Gagliardi, who undertook the onerous and highly responsible task of completing his work.

To suppose that Oechsli's literary activity was confined to the above-mentioned books would be far from the truth. Throughout his life, from 1876 onwards, he continued to publish smaller contributions to historical literature, as well as many reviews of books, together with occasional papers on questions of the day. His *opera minora* are too numerous to be recounted in anything but a bibliographical catalogue, but some of the most important may be mentioned, if only to shew the many-sided activity and constant energy of the writer. Perhaps the chief of these was his history of the Swiss Polytechnikum, 1855–1905, with a sketch of its previous development, a volume of 400 pages. He also wrote many lives for the German "Allgemeine Biographie." Other works of importance were treatises on the early history of the Valais and the Grisons, on "the Cantons and their Allies" (Orte und Zugewandten), on "Zwingli as a Statesman," and on "Geneva and the Treaty of Lausanne." The last of these contains a clear account of the Seignorial and other lands connected with Geneva, their organisation and feudalities, which throws many sidelights on mediaeval conditions elsewhere in Switzerland.

In all these works he was in the habit of going straight to the sources. He never relied on second-hand information, and always impressed on his classes at the University the necessity of thorough and original research. His lectures were popular and largely attended. In the presentation of his results he shewed considerable literary and artistic skill; he was an excellent narrator; his sketches of individual characters are terse and vivid, and his description of events is often picturesque. He was a man of deep convictions and he made no effort to conceal them; his strong personality shews throughout his works. In religion he was a stout Protestant, but his sense of justice (as this little book will shew) made him fair to those with whom he disagreed. Warm-hearted and unselfish and scrupulously avoiding self-advertisement, he had scientific opponents, but no personal enemies. He loved travel; and, ardent patriot as he was, nothing gave him greater pleasure than excursions

in the mountainous regions of his beloved and beautiful country. Those who knew him estimated the man even higher than the *Gelehrte*. His death at Weggis on April 26, 1919, removed a figure undoubtedly the first among Swiss writers of his time, and one which was in the leading rank of historians on the wider stage of the world.

The book which I now introduce to the reader was almost Professor Oechsli's last work. It was in 1911 that I invited him to undertake it. The book was completed in the autumn of 1914; and the text, revised by him, was translated by the summer of 1916. The war unfortunately forbade immediate publication; and the arrears in which the University Press found itself involved after the Armistice, combined with other unavoidable engagements, compelled a further postponement. Fortunately the translators had the advantage, during their work, of frequent communication with the author, concerning the correct English equivalents of Swiss political terms, and the interpretation of other difficulties; and their text was subsequently submitted to a careful and thorough revision by a scholar well-versed in Swiss History, for whose services I cannot be sufficiently grateful, but whose name I am not at liberty to mention. Thus the obvious misfortune, that the English text lost the benefit of the author's revision, has been, so far as was possible, remedied.

The spelling of place-names is bound to be a difficulty in any book dealing with tri-lingual Switzerland, a difficulty which I cannot hope to have surmounted to everyone's satisfaction. The rule which I have adopted is to adhere in general to Professor Oechsli's spelling, which is naturally German, but in the French-speaking Cantons to adopt the form in current use there. In the case, however, of names like Lucerne, Geneva, and Constance, which are so fixed in common parlance that it would seem pedantic to alter them, I have kept to the English use.

G. W. PROTHERO

March, 1922

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BOOK I

THE ZENITH OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION, 1499–1519

CHAPTER I

THE SEPARATION OF SWITZERLAND FROM THE EMPIRE

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION is one of the numerous states which have arisen out of the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, but it differs from all the rest both in its origin and in its characteristics. Whereas elsewhere the German states owed their origin to princely houses, which had brought together their various domains by inheritance, by marriage, and by conquest, Switzerland grew out of the voluntary union of small communities to form a republican federation of states. In Germany the political obligations which the imperial central government had proved incapable of discharging, fell to the temporal and ecclesiastical princes; but in Switzerland these obligations were taken over by a union of cities and rural districts, the freedom of which was firmly established in the struggle against the dominion of the Habsburgs.

In August, 1291, the three Forest Cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, became united by an Everlasting League into an indissoluble community, and secured their democratic independence by the glorious victory which in 1315 at Morgarten on the Lake of Aegeri they obtained over Leopold of Austria and his knights. These three original Cantons constituted the nucleus around which gathered all those between the Jura, the Rhine, and the Alps that were hostile to the Habsburg rule. In commemoration of the victors at Morgarten, the men of Schwyz, this union received the name of the *Swiss* Confederation. Towns such as Lucerne, Zurich, Bern, Fribourg, and Solothurn, and rural districts like Glarus, Zug, and Appenzell endeavoured by joining the Confederation to secure their right to self-government. Whereas the great peasant revolts of the fourteenth century in England and France met with

crushing defeats, and whereas the leagues between the German towns, when defeated by the princes and nobles, were broken up, the Swiss gained decisive victories in 1386 and 1388 at Sempach and at Näfels, and thus prepared an asylum for republican ideas in the midst of monarchical and feudal Europe. In Germany the feudal aristocracy and its princely leaders maintained their authority; in Switzerland, on the other hand, the lower social strata, the burghers, and the peasants, took the power into their hands. With the diminution of the power of the Habsburg ruling house went that of the higher and the lower nobility, save in so far as the nobles submitted to absorption into the civic communities. With trifling exceptions, the lordships of the nobles which separated the towns from the rural districts of the Confederation gradually fell to the latter by purchase, by mortgage, and by the fortune of war, and thus there came into existence the continuous geographical area which was essential for the formation of the Swiss state. In 1499 King Maximilian enumerated fifty castles belonging to counts, and one hundred and sixty other seats of the nobility which had been seized by the Swiss, and the rightful owners of which had been defeated or expelled by them. The Swiss were regarded as the born "suppressors and exterminators of all the nobility." The wars between them and the house of Austria were, in addition, fierce class struggles between burghers and peasants, on the one side, and nobles on the other.

On the part of the Swiss Confederation this obliteration of social distinctions was also manifested by the emancipation of the serfs throughout its domain. In the towns it was a general principle that residence entailed emancipation, in that a serf who dwelt for a year and a day within their walls could no longer be claimed by his lord. What was peculiar to Switzerland was that this process of enfranchisement extended also to the rural districts. In the democratic Forest Cantons the numerous serfs of the lords, ecclesiastical and temporal, who existed here as everywhere else, obtained the rights of the free-born peasants, either by way of revolt, or by purchase. From these domains of the nobles, each Swiss town, whether by the sword or by purchase, secured the territory which surrounded it. But the town did not grant equal rights, ruling the region around it as a subject province. The largest of these subject areas was acquired by Bern; but the proud town on the Aar perceived that

it was unfitting to be leagued with the free peasants of the Forest Cantons, and yet itself to rule over serfs. From 1413 onwards, in a manner ever memorable for the date, the Bernese government worked methodically for the abolition of serfdom by means of purchase, and by 1485 was able to declare that hereditary servitude would no longer be tolerated within its dominions. Thus it came to pass that serfdom disappeared in the greatest part of Switzerland, whereas north of the Rhine it was becoming continually more burdensome because of the pressure due to the increasing requirements of the feudal lords.

At the end of the fifteenth century there existed in Switzerland two classes only: on the one hand, the burghers of the sovereign towns, and the country folk of the sovereign rural cantons; and, on the other, the dwellers in the subject domains. The contrast, however, was not a marked one, for every individual could easily put an end to it by his own exertions. There did not yet exist that narrow-mindedness on the part of the ruling towns and rural cantons which arose at a later date. Every "subject" could enter a town, and could there, for a few gulden, acquire the right of citizenship; and then the path to honours and offices was as open to him as to any burgher by birth. It was hardly possible to rule against its will a people every one of whom had a pike and a halberd hanging on the wall of his house. Even though the governments of the town cantons were exclusively composed of the burghers of the chief town, the authority of these was limited by the laws and the customs of the country regions. Moreover, it was found advantageous, in important emergencies, to ask the opinion of the whole people, not merely that of the burghers in the town, but also that of their relatives in the country districts, and to be guided by the popular voice. It followed that the inhabitants of the subject lands felt themselves to be also free Confederates; they also were proud to be liberated from the "arbitrary rule of the princes and the nobles"; and by them also the tyrannicide, William Tell, was honoured, in word and picture, as a national hero.

The proud sense of freedom felt by the Swiss was closely connected with their military institutions, which were developed in the struggle with Austria, and which made them the terror of their neighbours. In contradistinction to the feudal knights, the Swiss, in accordance with the newly awakened principle of the universal

duty to bear arms, created once more an infantry always ready for war. To use the words of Machiavelli, they became "a people in arms," and in a glorious series of battles they maintained their superiority over the feudal armies of Germany, Burgundy, France, and Italy. Until towards the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the Confederates had not looked beyond the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire. It was the house of Austria itself which brought them into contact with France. In 1444, in response to an appeal for help from Austria, Charles VII of France sent the Dauphin Louis against the Swiss with a great army, and at St Jakob on the Birs this army required a whole day to crush a small body of 1500 Confederates. It was, indeed, the heroic fight at St Jakob which led to the important friendly alliance between Switzerland and France. The Dauphin (afterwards King Louis XI) wished to have such warriors in his own service; and on their side, the Confederates perceived that it was necessary, in order to guard against the danger to which they were exposed in consequence of Austrian intrigues with French-speaking powers, to meet the advances of those who were best inclined towards them. The common opposition of France and Switzerland to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, confirmed this policy. In 1474 the Swiss concluded with France the first mercenary alliance, which was to hold good for the life of Louis XI. This showed the same features as did those of the similar alliances during three centuries, namely the granting of recruiting facilities by the Swiss, the promise of help in case of need, and the provision of annual payments on the side of France.

After the Confederates, at Grandson, Morat, and Nancy, had conquered and overthrown Charles the Bold, the greatest warrior prince of his time, they were regarded as "the masters of modern warfare." Theirs was the military model after which King Maximilian created the infantry of the German lansquenets, in emulation of which Louis XI endeavoured to form a French infantry, and which provoked imitation even on the part of the Spaniards. This Alpine folk, so mighty in war, became an important factor in European politics. The Pope, the Emperor, kings as well as republics, were rivals for the friendship of the great "League of Upper Germany," in the hope of having the dreaded Swiss pikemen on their side, or, at least, of keeping them from joining the enemy. It cannot be maintained that the Confederates displayed conspicuous ability in

the field of the "haute politique." Whilst in defence they exhibited an admirable unity and resolution, they showed themselves incapable of the consistent pursuit of political aims beyond the immediate demands of the moment. Instead of employing their strength in war for their own aggrandisement, they preferred to squander it in military service for the advantage of others. So far as their own interests were concerned, they were content with that policy of neutrality which subsequently became their guiding rule of conduct, when the attempts of the imperial authorities to bind them again more firmly to the Empire had involved them in a further period of heroic struggles.

When the Confederates formed their "Everlasting Leagues," and fought their battles for freedom against Austria, there was no thought in their minds of a separation from the Holy Roman Empire. In all their Leagues they had reserved the rights of the Emperor and of the Empire. Their rebellion had been against the imperial officials, who were becoming independent hereditary princes, but had not been directed against the imperial suzerain as such. On the contrary, their highest aim had been to maintain their position as "immediately dependent on the Empire," to maintain, that is to say, the *direct* connection between ruler and subject which exists in every healthy state, and to abolish the parasitic intermediate authorities by whom this direct connection was destroyed. For this reason, moreover, the Emperors and Kings who did not belong to the house of Habsburg had always favoured the Swiss movement for freedom, and had formally recognised the Leagues of the Confederates. These imperial privileges constituted the legal title to their freedom. Owing to the increasing weakness of imperial rule, "immediate dependence" on the Empire had in fact become equivalent to complete independence. The Emperors and Kings, ever at their wits' end for money, had always been prepared to alienate their rights and dues piecemeal; and the result had been that no course was left open to the Confederates but to acquire these for themselves, unless they wished them to pass into the hands of one of the neighbouring local rulers. Consequently, the Swiss towns and rural Cantons had in the course of time acquired numerous imperial privileges, which guaranteed them in the possession of complete sovereign power. The king could no longer name any officials for them, he could obtain no more taxes from

them, he could levy no more customs-dues on them, he had no jurisdiction to exercise over them; all these rights had passed over to the community of the Confederates. They possessed complete republican self-government, and conversely, they were entirely dependent on themselves for their own protection and defence. Yet in the first half of the fifteenth century they still regarded themselves as genuine members of the Empire. When their sovereign appeared within their borders, they paid him all the honours due to him, and they were willing, within certain limits, to furnish him with military aid.

But the moral bond which still linked the Swiss with the Empire must inevitably be ruptured directly that bond threatened to become a noose with which their freedom could be throttled, directly, that is to say, their hereditary enemy, the house of Austria, entered into permanent possession of the imperial throne. No one had done more to stifle the attachment of the Swiss to the Emperor and to the Empire than the Habsburger, Frederick III. During the half century of his reign (1440–1493) he had worked with all his power to destroy the Swiss Confederation in the interests of the house of Austria; he had refused to confirm the Swiss charters of freedom; he had induced Zurich to secede, and thus brought about a grievous civil war; he had repeatedly proclaimed against the Confederates the ban and double ban of the Empire; he had endeavoured to kindle an imperial war against them; he had summoned the French into the Empire against the Swiss; and in the Burgundian war he had practised the basest treachery against them. It was not the fault of the Emperor that the famous nuptials of his son, Maximilian, with the daughter of Charles the Bold, were not celebrated amid the ruins of the Swiss Confederation. A whole generation grew up which knew of the Emperor only that at all times, openly and in secret, he had worked for the destruction of the Confederation. The Empire itself was involved in the well-grounded hatred of the imperial sovereign, from whom, since he had mounted the throne, nothing had come but threats of war, of litigation, and of punishments, but never the slightest help.

In other respects, as well, the Confederates had become strangers in the Empire, owing to the special characteristics of their political and social institutions. In the eyes of the dominant class in Germany these "lordless peasants," whose halberds crashed down even on princely heads, constituted a permanent social danger, for

the example of the Swiss might spread by contagion to the peasantry elsewhere. "They want to become Swiss" was the proverbial expression in Germany used by all those who wished to throw off allegiance to their lawful lords. To the dominant princely aristocracy of the Empire the self-government of these "rude cow-milkers" was an abomination, which was tolerated only because the defence of pikes and halberds was too strong.

The democratic and republican form of the state prevented the Swiss from assuming in the Empire a position commensurate with the importance of their country. In the fifteenth century, Switzerland was the one centre of energy in the Empire, a land which no German principality could rival in military strength, as was recognised in the specifications of the imperial levies to be made against the Turks and the French, for in these the military burden imposed on Switzerland exceeded tenfold or twentyfold that laid upon an Elector of the Empire. If the Swiss, with power equal to that of the Confederation, had had a prince at their head, this prince would inevitably have acquired the leadership of the Empire. But in practice the strongest community in the Empire had less voice in the imperial counsels than the pettiest bishop or imperial abbot, for the imperial constitution had as good as no place for Switzerland.

On the other hand, after the events of the Burgundian war, the Swiss had become fully conscious of their own strength. They had the proud feeling that they needed no other protection than that of God and their weapons. The Confederation had become to them a fatherland, whose greatness they celebrated in song and chronicle. It resulted that all these combined influences, their hostility to the imperial house, the differences in political and social matters, and the consequent enmity, no less than the impossibility of taking the place in the Empire to which their strength entitled them, impelled the Swiss to separate from the Empire.

Since the Burgundian wars, in which the Empire failed to come to their assistance, while the Emperor had betrayed them to the duke of Burgundy, the Confederates were hindered by no opposing considerations. They simply put on one side the imperial demands for support against the French, the Hungarians, and the Turks; they suffered no more appeals to the Emperor and the imperial courts; and even the resolutions of the Reichstag were no longer

respected. But in Germany there was a general unwillingness to consent to the separation of "so notable a member of the German nation."

The idea of an internal reform of the disordered Empire, an idea which for the past two generations had busied the leading minds of Germany, took definite shape at the Reichstag held at Worms in 1495. In return for the pecuniary aid which King Maximilian, the son and successor of Frederick III, demanded from the estates of the Empire for the war with France, the Reichstag compelled him to agree to internal reforms, proposals for which had hitherto always been wrecked by the obstinacy of his father. "Perpetual public peace" was demanded; that is to say, every arbitrary exercise of power, despotic acts, and feuds, were forbidden once for all under penalty of the ban of the Empire. Law was to replace physical force, and in the last instance to be administered by a reformed imperial court. In order to end the imperial "cabinet jurisdiction" (*i.e.* justice administered in the personal interest of the Emperor), which was ill-famed for venality and procrastination, the Reichstag created the Imperial Court of Chancery (*Reichskammergericht*). In this court the President alone was to be named by the king, whilst the estates of the Empire nominated the assessors, of whom half were to be nobles and half professional lawyers. For the maintenance of the Imperial Court of Chancery and for the needs of the war the Reichstag assented to the king's imposing a general pecuniary levy upon the Empire, the "Common Pfennig," an admixture of property tax, income tax, and poll tax, the expenditure of which was to be subject to the control of the Reichstag, which in future was to meet annually.

It is beyond the scope of this work to estimate the importance for the future of Germany of the decisions taken at Worms in 1495. So far as the relation of Switzerland to the Empire was concerned, their effect was similar to that of the Stamp Act and the Boston Harbour Bill upon the relation of the North American colonies to the motherland. Envoys from the king and from the Reichstag demanded of the Confederates a recognition of the Public Peace and of the Imperial Court of Chancery in accordance with the decrees of Worms, and also that a beginning should be made with the collection of the "Common Pfennig." The Confederates refused to accede to this demand, because this would have involved a loss

without a compensating gain, for the recognition of the decrees of Worms would have meant the loss of their independence. What the Public Peace, the Imperial Court of Chancery, and the "Common Pfennig" were now to provide for the Empire—peace and justice within, and strength abroad—were benefits they had already long enjoyed. Their perpetual Public Peace had been established among them by their Confederation, and in certain covenants such as the *Pfaffenbrief* (Parsons' Ordinance) of 1370 and the "Compact of Stanz" of 1481.

In contrast with Germany, where robber knights and feudal licence flourished luxuriantly, in Switzerland there prevailed, as natives and foreigners agreed in testifying, security upon the highways, as well as the maintenance of law and justice. The recognition of the Imperial Court of Chancery would have reversed the growth of a century. By means of prohibitions and of imperial privileges the Confederates had consistently rejected all foreign judicial authority. They were now ordered to revive the unending and costly protraction of litigation, to give an opportunity to sulky fellow-citizens or to hostile neighbours to summon them before a foreign court, in whose composition they had no voice, and from which they could expect no sympathy for or understanding of their peculiar circumstances. What the "Common Pfennig" was to realise for Germany for the first time—a powerful military organisation—was a thing they had also long possessed, and for which they had not shunned heavy burdens. Moreover, who was to provide any guarantee that the Habsburger, to whom they were to pay the taxes, would not employ his increased powers against themselves?

When the Confederates refused to accept the Worms decrees they were within their formal rights. It was by no means firmly established that decrees of the Reichstag must be regarded as binding upon dissentient or absent members of the Empire; the Duke of Lorraine and the Elector of Brandenburg roundly declared that they would never submit to the authority of the Imperial Court of Chancery. Against the Reichstag, the Confederates could oppose their dearly bought imperial privileges, by which they were liberated from all foreign judicial authority and from all imperial taxation. A decisive feature in the judgment of their situation was that Maximilian and the Reichstag demanded from the Swiss the sacrifice of that political independence which they had purchased

with so high an expenditure of blood, without offering them any equivalent whatever in the shape of increased influence in imperial affairs. It was simply expected of them that they should obediently accept what the princely aristocracy and the king thought fit to decide in the name of the Empire. Such was the view taken by the Swiss themselves, and such the view taken by their opponents. "They want to give us a master," was said everywhere throughout the Confederation; "the Swiss must have a master, the bull of Uri must bow his neck beneath the yoke, the bears of Berne are to be hunted," was the chorus of jubilation that arose from the nobles and their retainers in Swabia; and the Elector of Mayence declared in the presence of the envoys of the Confederation that a way had been found to tame the Confederates with paper, pen, and ink. Were it possible to imagine that Prussia had had no voice at the German Bundestag of 1866, and yet had been bound to accept the decrees of that body, bound to accept blindly whatever Austria, with the central and smaller states, thought fit to determine, we shall have some sort of idea of the feeling in Switzerland about the Worms decrees. The result was the "Swabian War" of 1499, which for Switzerland had the same significance that the War of Independence had for the United States of America.

In the year 1488, under the influence of Austria, the princes, nobles, and towns of Swabia had constituted a powerful "Swabian League," which was at first directed against the princely house of Bavaria, but before long turned against the Swiss, and ultimately came to embrace almost the whole of South Germany and Tirol. The outbreak of an intense hatred between "Swabians" and "Swiss" was the consequence. With the support of the Swabian League the imperial authorities undertook to force the Confederates to accept the Worms decrees. The Imperial Court of Chancery entertained complaints against members of the Confederation, and proclaimed against them the ban of the Empire. Military preparations began on both sides. In the sultry calm before the storm, both were endeavouring to increase their strength still more. The Swabian League succeeded in securing for its own side the town of Constance, which had already been in treaty with the Swiss Confederation, with a view to joining that body; they also secured the towns in Alsace which in the Burgundian wars had been allies of the Swiss. Basel alone remained neutral. But these

losses in the north were more than compensated for the Confederates by the gain of a large area which Austria was accustomed to consider as already within its own sphere of power, viz. the Grisons.

In the early Middle Ages the name of the ancient province of Raetia became restricted to the so-called "Coire-Raetia"; and in course of time this district had broken up into a number of ecclesiastical and temporal lordships. The most important of these was that of the bishops of Chur (Coire), whose political authority extended over a continuous area from the city of Chur to the Engadine and the Vintschgau. At the Tirolese frontier, however, in the Vintschgau, in the Münsterthal, and in the Lower Engadine, the rights of the bishop were often entangled with those of the dukes of Austria as lords of Tirol; and this gave the latter a welcome pretext for the subordination of the ecclesiastical princes to their own suzerainty. In order to prevent this, in the year 1367, there was constituted the so-called "League of God's House," a union of the cathedral chapter of Chur, of the nobles, the burghers, and the peasants in the episcopal domains, as a result of which it came about that the bishop could take no important steps without the League, whereas the League could very well act without the bishop. In the year 1395, in the valleys of the Vorder-Rhein and the Hinter-Rhein, there came into existence a second league, the "Upper" or "Grey" League, which presumably took its name from the grey coats worn by the Raetian highlanders by whom it was formed; and in 1436 there was founded a third alliance, the "League of the Ten Jurisdictions," in regions such as Davos, the Prättigau, Schanfigg, and Churwalden that had belonged to the recently extinct noble house of the counts of Toggenburg. These three leagues in Raetia subsequently united to form a further perpetual league, so that as early as 1461 they held common Federal congresses. Thus in the course of the fifteenth century there came into existence in the Raetian Alps "the Free State of the Three Leagues," in which the Upper or Grey League, as the best organised of the three, played the leading part, so that the whole region came to receive the name of "Graubünden" or "the Grisons."

The deliberate aim of Austria, however, was to effect the absorption of the Grisons. In addition to the rights which Austria already possessed in the territory of the League of God's House, it

had acquired also certain rights as overlord in eight jurisdictions of the ten belonging to the League of the Ten Jurisdictions as well as the suzerainty over the lordship of Razün, situated in the territory of the Grey League. But the direct result of the intentions too plainly manifested by the Austrian government in Innsbruck was that the Leaguers endeavoured to save their independence by joining the Swiss Confederation. In 1497, the Grey League formed a perpetual alliance with the seven easternmost Cantons of the Swiss Confederation; in December, 1498, the League of God's House also joined the Confederation; whilst the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, which was more under Austrian influence than the other two, still held back, but in the war of liberation nevertheless proved faithful to the cause of its brethren.

The treaties of 1497–98 signified the cutting off of the Grisons from the Austrian sphere of influence and its adhesion to Switzerland. The immediate consequence was the outbreak of the "Swabian War." In the opening of the year 1499, the Austrian rulers at Innsbruck sent troops into the Münsterthal, part of the territory of the Grisons, and called upon the Swabian League for help, while the Grisons men turned to the Confederates; and feelings rose to such a height on both sides that a speedy appeal to force was inevitable. In a moment the Swiss and the Swabians took up arms against one another and along the whole line of the Rhine from the Grisons-Tirolese frontier to Basel, they measured their strength in a number of battles and skirmishes. The forces of Austria and South Germany that were united in the Swabian League came off badly everywhere against the hardy Swiss, who gained victory after victory. In February, 1499, they routed a Swabian army at Triesen in the Vorarlberg, and annihilated a second army at Hard near the Lake of Constance. In March, 1499, at Bruderholz, to the south of Basel, 850 men from Solothurn, Bern, and Lucerne defeated a force of over 3000 infantry and knights which had crossed the frontier from Alsace; and in April, 1499, at Triboldingen, 1500 Confederates routed 6000 of the imperial troops which had invaded Thurgau from Constance. Nine days later, on April the 20th, 1499, under the leadership of the experienced fighter, Heini Wolleben, from the Ursernthal, the Confederates took a strong redoubt which the Austrians in the Vorarlberg had thrown up above Feldkirch, at the lower end of the Illthal; and, with the sacrifice of the life of

their valiant leader, they crushed a powerful army awaiting them at Frastenz under cover of this fortification.

Meanwhile, king Maximilian, who had been in the Netherlands at the outbreak of the war, arrived in person upon the scene of battle, after having in due form issued a proclamation of imperial war against "the ill-conditioned, rough, and base peasant-folk, in whom there is to be found no virtue, no noble blood, and no moderation, but only disloyalty and hatred towards the German nation." But neither the fiery proclamation of the Emperor nor yet his personal leadership could serve to give a different turn to the war. While Maximilian was crossing the Arlberg Pass to effect a junction with an army in the Vintschgau in order to undertake the conquest of the Grisons, 8000 Grisons men on the 22nd of May surrounded and stormed a powerful earthwork in the Calven gorge, at the outlet of the Münsterthal, between Taufers and Glurns. Here their principal leader, Benedict Fontana, died a hero's death, but the enemy's force, 13,000 in number, was routed with a loss of 5000 men and driven into the Vintschgau. Maximilian took his revenge in June, 1499, in an invasion of the Engadine. The Engadiners, however, burned their own villages, Zuoz, Samaden, Pontresina, St Moritz, and others; and the imperial army, to avoid starvation in the devastated valleys, was forced to beat a hasty retreat.

While, in July, Maximilian was threatening Eastern Switzerland from Constance, and was thus holding up the principal force of the Confederates in the Thurgau, his commander-in-chief, Count Heinrich von Fürstenberg, invaded the Solothurn district from Alsace with a force of 14,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry. The Solothurn men, however, had sent out an appeal for help in good time. Reinforced by troops from Bern and Zurich to a total strength of 4000 men, they surprised the enemy on July 22nd, 1499, at the Castle of Dorneck in the Birsthal. Fürstenberg fell in the first onslaught, but the imperial troops made a gallant stand, until the arrival of a reinforcement of 1200 men from Lucerne and Zug decided the issue. Three thousand of the imperial forces were left dead upon the field, and among them many men of rank. Basel, acting on instructions from the bereaved families, demanded from the Confederates that the bodies of the dead knights should be handed over, but received for answer, "the nobles must lie with the peasants."

These successive defeats had caused such profound discourage-

ment on the German side that, for good or for evil, Maximilian was forced to sign the peace which by the mediation of Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan, was concluded at Basel on September 22nd, 1499. In the treaty of peace the independence of Switzerland was not expressly recognised. The Confederates, however, would no longer permit themselves to be described as "members of the Empire"; and the king was forced to promise the remission and abolition without exception of all feuds, all expressions of disfavour, all bans, all legal proceedings and complaints, undertaken against the Confederates, their allies, and their dependents, before or during the war. In those matters which were not expressly touched upon in the peace, both parties were to remain as they had been before the war. Before the war, however, the Confederates had rendered no military service to the Empire, nor paid any taxes to it, had obeyed neither the resolutions of the Reichstag, nor the commands of the king, nor the judgments of the Imperial Court of Chancery. Since this state of affairs was recognised on the German side as having a legal right to existence, the peace of Basel did establish the practical separation of Switzerland from the Empire, even though the official terminology avoided any open expression of this fact.

CHAPTER II

THE CONFEDERATION OF THE THIRTEEN CANTONS AND THEIR ALLIES

NOTWITHSTANDING brilliant victories and frequent raids into the enemy's territory, the Confederates conquered no new domains in the Swabian war. Immediately thereafter, however, a ripe fruit fell into their hands. During the war, Basel had remained neutral, thereby incurring the hostility of all its German neighbours, who accused it of treason to the Holy Roman Empire. Since, after the conclusion of peace, the Austrian nobility continually molested the town, interfering with its shipping trade, ill-treating its burghers, and threatening it with attack, the Baselers opened negotiations with the Confederates. On June 9th, 1501, Basel was admitted to the Confederation as a "Canton" (*Ort*); and on July 13th, in the gaily decorated town, the new allies swore mutual fealty. As a sign of the security the Basel men now felt by reason of the protection of the Confederates, they replaced the armed watch at the gate by a woman with a distaff who went on with her spinning as she took the tolls. For the Swiss, on the other hand, Basel, with its ancient bridge across the Rhine, was an extremely important acquisition. As a contemporary song phrases it, "They have taken the key with which they can lock the entrance into their land." This was the chief commercial entrance into Switzerland; in Venice, the route over the St Gotthard was known simply as the "Basel Street."

Basel also brought to Switzerland a valuable intellectual contribution. The Oecumenical Council of Basel (1431–1448) had given a powerful impetus to the already vigorous life of the town. Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius), who had formerly attended the council as cardinals' secretary, issued a bull in virtue of which in 1460 the university of Basel came into existence, the oldest and for long the sole university of Switzerland. A few years later, the first printing presses were at work in Basel—so early as 1471 there was a printers' strike in the town—and through the splendid activities of its printers, Berthold Ruppel, Michael Wensler, Johannes Amerbach, Johannes Petri, Johann Froben, and others, Basel became the centre

of German printing and of the German book-trade, like Leipzig to-day. Froben, who engaged such learned Humanists as Glareanus and Beatus Rhenanus as correctors for the press, and who employed such artists as the two Holbeins to design title-pages and vignettes for the books he issued, ranked as the leading printer of his time. For the sake of Froben, Erasmus of Rotterdam, the prince of Humanism, took up his permanent residence in Basel; and in a letter written in 1516 he gives expression to his joy in the association with so many admirable and distinguished men of learning; it seemed to him as if in this city there existed the most charming homes of the muses. In addition to this source of fame, Basel was renowned for the cultivation of the fine arts. So early as 1440, Conrad Witz, the bold and highly talented pioneer colourist of the Upper German school, had raised Basel to the rank of one of the first art-centres of Germany. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was the chosen residence of Hans Holbein, who, when a youth of seventeen, migrated from Augsburg to Basel, became a burgher of the town, and lived there for some decades, working as a wood-engraver, and painting panels and frescoes, till a new and more brilliant field opened before him in England. His drawings and paintings in the Basel museum, and his Madonnas in Solothurn and Darmstadt, which were painted for citizens of Basel, bear witness to the magnificent artistic work done by Holbein during his residence in the town on the Rhine; but unfortunately the beautiful frescoes with which he adorned the town hall and a number of private houses have all perished.

Some two months later than Basel, on August 10th, 1501, the town of Schaffhausen, which so early as 1454 had already entered into terminable alliances with the Confederates, was promoted to the status of Canton. The same thing happened on December 17th, 1513, in the case of Appenzell, which since 1411 had been an "ally" (*zugewandter Ort*) of the Confederates. With these additions, the number of the Cantons, that is of the fully qualified members of the old Confederation, was completed, for no further additions were made until the extinction of the old Confederation in 1798.

The thirteen Cantons[1], Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz,

[1] The term *canton*, which since 1798 has replaced the expression *Ort* (district), is the French equivalent of the German *Ort*. It is first used in the treaties of alliance with the kings of France.

Unterwalden (which so early as 1333 had separated into two loosely associated half-cantons, Obwalden and Nidwalden), Zug, Glarus, Basel, Fribourg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen and Appenzell, whose precisely observed order of precedence was determined partly by the date of entry into the league and partly by questions of the relative importance of each, constituted the nucleus of the whole, the Confederation in the narrower sense. In essential respects, the Cantons were allied on equal terms, and were pledged to furnish one another with unconditional assistance. The Cantons were entitled to a seat and a vote in the Diet, could claim a share in common conquests, war-indemnities, foreign annual payment, etc. whereas the other members of the league had no such legal right. Among the Cantons themselves there were also certain distinctions in the matter of legal privilege. The five junior Cantons, Fribourg, Solothurn, Basel, Schaffhausen and Appenzell, could not begin a war without permission of the majority of the Cantons, nor could they make any new alliances, whereas the eight old Cantons maintained the unrestricted right of making war and of entering into alliances.

The thirteen Cantons consisted of the "towns," Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Basel, Fribourg, Solothurn and Schaffhausen, and the "rural districts" of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus and Appenzell. In the latter, a pure democracy prevailed. The primitive democratic assembly (*Landesgemeinde*), was the sovereign, deciding upon peace and war, alliances, treaties, and laws; it elected the Chief Magistrate (*Landammann*) and the other Cantonal officials. It consisted of all the adult males who possessed rights of citizenship and who had not been deprived of these as dishonourable persons. Every year in the spring the men of the Canton, rich and poor, came together from the mountains and the valleys for the principal Cantonal assembly, having not merely the right to attend this, but the duty to be present under a penalty; not infrequently they were also summoned to extraordinary assemblies; they attended all in the proud consciousness that the highest authority of the State was vested in them in common.

It was otherwise in the towns. For a long time past the jurisdiction of these had not been confined to their walls; everyone of them had acquired a larger or smaller country region in addition. This extra-mural region did not, however, possess the same rights as the citizens of the town. The town had rather come to occupy

the place of the former feudal lords; at the same time the town was the prince, ruling the extra-mural region as a subject land, through bailiffs. In the town, moreover, it was not usually the burghers as a whole who decided the conduct of public affairs, but the Councils. If the "Small Council," which carried on the government, did not venture to decide any matter on its own responsibility, the question was referred to the "Great Council." It was quite exceptional for the members of either body to be elected directly by the burghers; in most of the towns the Councils filled gaps in their own ranks in accordance with some artificial scheme. The authorities of the chief city were also the supreme government of the respective Cantons, and it was only its citizens who were eligible for office. Thus the civic constitutions already contained the germs of the later civic aristocracy. On the whole, however, the spirit of the civic governments was at this time a fairly democratic one; the tenure of office was not as yet, as it became later, a privilege reserved to certain families. In the Councils, manual workers sat side by side with merchants and knights; and even for the peasant in the country regions, in view of the liberal practice that prevailed in respect of the right of settlement and of the granting of burghership, it was easy to enter the town, to acquire civic rights, and thus to find the way open to all dignities and offices. Even the rural communes ranked as members of the State, just as did the guilds in the towns; and, when issues important to the State had to be decided, the government was accustomed to ask the opinion of the countryfolk as well as of the townsmen, and to take action in accordance with the popular decision.

The subject lands of the towns coincided on the whole with the modern cantonal areas. The only important exception was that of Bern, to which were lacking Bienne and the Jura, now part of Bernese territory, while Bern then possessed a large part of the present Canton of Aargau, with the towns of Zofingen, Aarau, Lenzburg, and Brugg. In 1536, Vaud was added, so that the domain of the town and republic of Bern extended from Coppet on the lake of Geneva to the junction of the Reuss with the Aar. The democratic Cantons, however, had their subject lands as well as the towns. Thus, Uri owned the Ursernthal and the Val Leventina; to Schwyz belonged the more distant regions of the present Canton of Schwyz, namely Küssnach, Einsiedeln, the March and Höfe, at

the head of the lake of Zurich. For the rest, these subject lands of the rural Cantons were democratic peasant communities, which were in effect self-governing, in a mild dependence upon their rulers.

In addition to the thirteen Cantons, there were a number of lords, towns, and rural districts which had allied themselves to the Confederation by perpetual leagues, and shared the destinies of that body, but were distinguished from the Cantons as simple "Allies" (*Zugewandte*), either because they were regarded as members of the second rank and were not summoned at all to the Diet (or were summoned only in exceptional cases), or else because they did not feel themselves so closely allied with the Cantons as these were with one another. The latter was the case with the two most important "Allies"—the Valais and the Grisons. The upper part of the Rhone valley was originally an ecclesiastical principality belonging to the bishop of Sion, who styled himself "Count and Prefect of the Valais." In the course of time, however, his power had undergone considerable restriction. In reality the episcopal state which constituted the Upper Valais, above Sion, was a league of seven little republics, the so-called *dizains* (*Zehnten*), which enjoyed a comprehensive autonomy. For the affairs of the Valais as a whole there was associated with the bishop a council elected by the *dizains*, with a Chief Magistrate; and, when the bishop would not do what the inhabitants wanted, these were always ready to raise the "Matze" (a club serving as a symbol of revolt) against him, and to drive him out of the country. In the years 1416 and 1417, during a revolt, the *dizains* formed a perpetual league with Lucerne, Uri and Unterwalden, which was subsequently recognised by the bishop, while he himself in 1475 entered into a perpetual alliance with Bern. Since the Burgundian wars, the Valaisans, and since the Swabian war, the Grisons men, had been proud to be Swiss in name and in fact, but they did not feel themselves to be so intimately associated with the Confederates but that they occasionally desired to go their own way in matters of foreign policy, so that Guicciardini, the historian of Italy, distinguishes them from the Swiss as a separate people. His countryman, Machiavelli, writes more accurately when he says: "In addition to the Cantons, there are two other kinds of Swiss, the Grisons men and the Valaisans. They are not so closely leagued with

the Cantons as to be unable to come to decisions in opposition to them. But they all get along very well together when it is a question of defending their liberties." Among the other "Allies," the most important was the abbot of St Gall, who ruled the greater part of the present Canton of St Gall as an ecclesiastical prince; the town of St Gall, which had completely liberated itself from the authority of the abbot, constituted a sovereign republic in the middle of his principality; the towns of Bienne, Mülhausen in the Sundgau, and Rottweil on the Neckar; the counts of Gruyère and of Neuchâtel; and in addition the territories of Neuveville on the lake of Bienne, Ergolz (St Imier valley), and the Val Moutier, which were subject to the bishops of Basel (who resided at Porrentruy), and were in a perpetual league with Bern and Bienne. The least considerable of the "Allies" were the abbey of Engelberg which ruled over Engelberg mountain valley, and the village of Gersau on the lake of Lucerne, which until the year 1798 formed an independent miniature republic.

With the Cantons and "Allies" there were further connected, as a third category of federated domains, the "common bailiwicks," or "common domains," that is to say, areas which had been conquered or purchased by several Cantons acting in common, and were now ruled by these Cantons in common. There were common domains belonging to two, three, four, seven, eight and twelve Cantons. Thus, Schwyz and Glarus held common sway over Gaster and Uznach in the valley of the Linth; Bern and Fribourg ruled over the towns of Morat, Grandson, Orbe and Echallens in Vaud; Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Glarus over Rapperswyl on the lake of Zurich; the seven old Cantons (without Bern), over the *Freiämter* in Aargau, Thurgau and the County of Sargans; the eight old Cantons, over the County of Baden. Ordinarily the ruling Cantons elected a bailiff in rotation, the term of office being two years. Making a ceremonial entry into his bailiwick, the bailiff received the homage of the "subjects," and took an oath, swearing in return to rule justly in accordance with the laws and customs of the region. The "subjects" had to discharge the duty of compulsory military service to the ruling Canton, and to pay the usual taxes; together with the customs-dues, fines, etc., these taxes constituted the revenue out of which the costs of the administration were defrayed. In the affairs of the "common bailiwicks," the minority

of the ruling Cantons had to accept the decision of the majority. In like manner as the Cantons, some of the "Allies" had subject lands; the seven *dizains* (*Zehnten*) of the Upper Valais ruled in common with the bishop of Sion the Lower Valais, which had formerly belonged to Savoy; and in 1512 the three Leagues in Raetia acquired the Valtelline, Bormio, and Chiavenna.

This motley Confederation had, as a whole, no constitution, nor yet any central government with authority over all Switzerland. When the Confederates had occasion to discuss common affairs, each Canton sent its delegates or "commissioners" (*Boten*) to an assembly at a place and time expressly appointed for each occasion. In this way came into existence the "Federal Diet" which met more and more frequently as time went on. Everything which concerned the Confederates in general was discussed by them through their commissioners at the Diet. This body decided questions of war and peace, decreed the levying of armies, treated with foreign powers, concluded alliances, decided or mediated in disputes among the members of the league, issued regulations regarding coinage, took measures for the prevention of pestilences, issued prohibitions against mercenary service, pensions, cursing and swearing, against gipsies and vagrants, etc. Thus the Diet exercised legislative, executive and judicial functions. It did not, however, possess real sovereign authority. It was no more than a congress of the delegates of sovereign states, delegates bound by their instructions; they had to speak and to vote, not in accordance with their own personal views and convictions, but in accordance with the previous decisions of their respective Cantons. Consequently a decision taken by the majority was not binding on the minority. Except for what was expressly laid down in the covenants of the leagues, it was left to the free will of each individual Canton whether it would or would not accept the decisions of the Diet. The idea of the Federal State had, however, already become so strong throughout the Confederation that, at least as far as foreign policy was concerned, the minority usually submitted to the decision of the majority. Moreover, the vigorous sense of solidarity which animated the Confederates in their prime, rendered them capable, notwithstanding the incompleteness of the constitution, of effecting marvels for the purpose of common defence. Nevertheless, repeated attempts to establish on a legal foundation the principle of majority-

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rule (attempts that were made especially in matters of foreign policy) came to naught; and as soon as the Confederates wished to assume the position of a great power, the loose structure of their confederation of states rendered it impossible for them to maintain a consistent policy. This became manifest in the matter of Swiss intervention in Italian affairs. This intervention represents from the military point of view a climax in the history of the Confederation, but it ended in a terrible disaster.

CHAPTER III

MERCENARY CAMPAIGNS IN ITALY

ITALY, which we admire as the cradle of modern civilisation and art, which in navigation, commerce and industry led the rest of Europe, was in political matters, owing to its dismembered condition, the weakest country of the western world, and so had attracted all foreign greed. France, Spain and the house of Habsburg measured their strength upon Italian soil, and the Swiss also came upon the scene, at first in the subordinate position of paid mercenaries, but, later, more and more on their own account; and ultimately they pursued their own aims and interests as a great power just like any of the others.

The beginning of Swiss intervention in Italian disputes (if we leave out of consideration the local quarrels about boundaries at the foot of the St Gotthard which go back to the opening of the fifteenth century) was their participation in the epoch-making campaign undertaken in 1494, for the conquest of Naples, by Charles VIII of France, who had a secret understanding with king Maximilian and Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan, both of whom had planned a partition of Italy. Although the mercenary alliance with Louis XI had not been renewed by Charles VIII, 8000 Swiss joined Charles' army despite the prohibition of the Diet; for the occupation of a mercenary soldier had become a favourite one with all the Swiss. These men constituted the nucleus of the infantry in Charles' army. He overran northern Italy and the domains of the Republic of Florence without resistance. Even the Pope, Alexander VI, the ally of Naples, did not venture to close the gates of Rome against him. The king entered the city on New Year's eve, by brilliant torchlight, and the sight of his army filled the Romans with amazement and terror. At the head there came a long and imposing procession, the dreaded Swiss, under their colours, marching with measured tread to the sound of their wind instruments, in splendid order, powerfully-built men, with great plumes in their hats, despising cuirass, helmet and shield, on their

shoulders a twenty-foot pike or a shorter halberd, and with a short sword buckled to the side. With each thousand pikemen and halberdiers there came a hundred arquebusiers. It is thus that the Italian, Paolo Giovio, describes their entry. The Swiss were followed by the French infantry, who seemed by comparison small and ugly; but the fine French cavalry, in whose midst rode the king himself, and the French artillery, once more aroused the admiration of the Italians.

Ferdinand II of Aragon, the king of Naples, could make no stand against such an army. On February 22, 1495, Charles VIII made his entry into Naples. While, however, his soldiers were enjoying the delights of this luxurious town, serious dangers were threatening in the north. Alarmed by the too rapid successes of the French, the duke of Milan and king Maximilian promptly changed sides, and on March 21, 1495, they concluded with the Republic of Venice, with the Pope and with Spain, the "Holy League" for the expulsion of the French from Italy. To avoid being cut off from his own kingdom, Charles VIII was forced in May to retreat with half his army. By way of Rome, from which the Pope had fled, he came to the foot of the Apennines. The horses were unable to draw the heavy field-pieces up the steep mountain road chosen by the king, and the abandonment of the costly artillery seemed unavoidable. The Swiss, however, a hundred or two hundred at a time, harnessed themselves to the guns and pulled them with the strength of giants over the hill. Their example encouraged the others; even knights took part in the hard work, including the commander-in-chief, La Trémoïlle, who pulled among the best of them in friendly rivalry with the Swiss. On July 5, Charles reached Fornovo on the Taro, where the army of the League, greatly superior to his own in numbers, blocked the way. On the 6th, the Swiss, "the star and the hope of the army," as Guicciardini describes them on this occasion, aided by the French cavalry, drove back the enemy, which no longer ventured to dispute the king's retreat towards Piedmont.

Meanwhile in northern Italy a second war had broken out. Louis, duke of Orleans, the nearest relative of Charles VIII, had established himself in Asti, an ancient French possession, and as descendant of one of the Visconti had raised hereditary claims to Milan. He also endeavoured to reinforce his small army by recruiting in

Switzerland. As a bait to the Confederates he promised them Bellinzona, Lugano, Locarno, and Arona, should he succeed with their aid in conquering the duchy of Milan. This was a clever appeal to the hearts of the Swiss of the Forest Cantons, who had long desired to have in their hands the whole of the St Gotthard route so far as the Lago Maggiore. Hence 2000 mercenaries, for the most part from Uri and Schwyz, joined the French duke; and with their aid, in June, 1495, he took the town of Novara. But very soon he was besieged there by a vastly superior force of the Leaguers, and was before long in the greatest distress. Charles VIII, feeling himself too weak to raise the siege, endeavoured to secure fresh reinforcements from Switzerland. Though most of the Cantonal governments would have preferred to remain neutral, in the autumn of 1495 a force of 20,000 Swiss crossed the mountains to join the French king in his camp at Vercelli. They came too late to relieve Novara, for the garrison of that town, driven to the last extremity, had already been forced to capitulate. But their arrival so greatly alarmed the duke of Milan that on October 9 he concluded a separate peace with Charles VIII. This monarch now had in his camp at Vercelli more Swiss than he liked, and his dread of them was not altogether unreasonable. The 20,000 mercenaries had hoped for rich plunder, but they found, to their dismay, that peace had been made, they were afraid that in the end they would be cheated even of their pay. They therefore conceived the plan of seizing the person of the king, to hold him in pawn. When the king succeeded in securing a safe refuge, the Swiss seized in his place some of the French notables. As soon as their hostages had been able to effect the payment of part of the sum due, the Swiss returned home over the mountains.

Charles VIII returned to France, abandoning to their fate the faithful soldiers whom he had left behind in Naples. The French and the Swiss performed many valiant deeds, but they were too weak to hold the country against the Neapolitans and the Spaniards. In July, 1496, the diminished French army capitulated at Atella, on condition of being sent back to France. The departure was, however, intentionally delayed; two-thirds of the soldiers, penned in the fever-ridden coast towns, were carried off by sickness; others died on the voyage in the pestilential ships' holds. Of the Swiss, barely one hundred saw their homes again.

On April 7, 1498, Charles VIII died without issue, and his cousin the duke of Orleans ascended the throne as Louis XII. He also held fast to the plan of the conquest of Italy, but, more far-seeing than his predecessor, he recognised that, above all, France must be master of the lines of communication in the north, and for this reason he turned his attention chiefly towards Milan and Genoa. With great ability he made diplomatic preparations for his campaign, taking measures to safeguard himself against Henry VII of England, concluding an alliance with Venice and with Pope Alexander VI, and also winning over Ferdinand of Aragon to his side by arranging with him for a partition of Naples. Finally, in March, 1499, during the Swabian war, the Confederates renewed for ten years the old mercenary alliance with France. The result of these negotiations was that of all the opponents of France there remained only king Maximilian and the duke of Milan. The Swabian war made it impossible for the king to come to the help of the duke. It was for this reason that Ludovico Sforza was so eager to arrange terms of peace between Maximilian and the Confederates. But before this could be effected, his power had crumbled to pieces. On August 13, 1499, Louis XII opened his campaign from Asti, reinforced by 5000 Swiss mercenaries, who joined the French army, although their own country was still fighting the Germans. Lombardy fell without resistance into the hands of the French, and Ludovico Sforza fled with his treasures to king Maximilian in Tirol. On October 6, Louis XII made his triumphal entry into Milan, and his overlordship was recognised by Genoa as well.

The one hope of the overthrown duke was that he might succeed in supplanting the Swiss with the king of France. His agent, Galeazzo Visconti, did actually succeed in winning to his side the Grisons men and also the Valaisans, whose bishop, Matthew Schinner, was an enemy of France on principle. The recruiting drums were sounded in Chur; and the mercenaries, who had just been sent home by the French with inadequate pay, now flocked to the standard of the duke of Milan despite all the prohibitions of the Diet. Ludovico re-entered Milan on February 5, 1500. On March 22, with an army of 7000–9000 Swiss, 7000 German lansquenets, 3000 Italian foot-soldiers, and several thousand cavalry, he occupied Novara. It became clear to Louis of France that he must get the Swiss once more upon his side. The Diet, bound by

the ten years' treaty just concluded with France, anxiously summoned home the mercenaries who were in the service of the duke. On the other hand, they would not permit recruiting for the king, because in the Swabian war he had failed to send them the subsidies promised in the treaty, and because he had refused to surrender Bellinzona, Lugano, etc., in accordance with the terms of his agreement. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the French envoy, Antoine de Bessey, Bailiff of Dijon, spending money freely in one Canton after another, soon raised a force of 15,000 mercenaries, which he led to join the French army in the beginning of April.

Thus, within a few months of the time when the Confederates had in fierce battles won their freedom from the Empire, there stood opposed to one another upon the blood-stained plains of Lombardy, two bodies of Swiss mercenaries, numbering 25,000 in all, prepared to hack one another to pieces because some of them had been hired by the duke of Milan and others by the king of France. To prevent this fratricidal struggle, the Diet sent an embassy to Lombardy to admonish the mercenaries attached to either party to return home. But the fate of Ludovico Sforza was decided before the embassy reached the theatre of war. When the French army approached, and the duke wished to give battle, his Swiss troops refused to fight against their countrymen in the opposite camp; and Ludovico was therefore compelled to shut himself up in Novara with his army. It was impossible to think of defending the town, since there was a lack both of food and of water; and all sections of the beleaguered troops therefore gave no thought to anything but their own safety. The Swiss and the German captains entered into negotiations with the French, and secured honourable terms of withdrawal for their troops, but not for their paymaster the duke. On the night of the 9th–10th of April, the duke also signed a capitulation in accordance with which, upon the guarantee of an annual revenue of 25,000 gold crowns, he was to allow himself to be taken to France. But by a private arrangement with his Swiss captains he then endeavoured to escape in the disguise of a Swiss mercenary. The French, however, had had their eyes open to this possibility. Ludovico's Swiss soldiers had to pass between the ranks of the hostile troops drawn up in battle array, and were very closely scrutinised. The captains endeavoured to conceal the duke

among their countrymen in the French army; but an Uri man in the French service, Hans Turmann by name (subsequently executed on this account in Switzerland), denounced him for a money reward. The unhappy Sforza was taken to France and kept strictly imprisoned till his death. With very little trouble the French now occupied Milan for the second time. The Swiss were paid off at a liberal rate; but with the gold they had earned they brought home an irremovable burden of disgrace, since everyone blamed them for having made the duke of Milan the victim of their treachery.

The sole relieving feature in this dark picture of mercenary greed is that one of the bodies of troops crossing the St Gotthard kept the national interest in mind. On Ludovico Sforza's reappearance, the men of Bellinzona had got rid of their French garrison, killing some and putting others to flight. Dreading the revenge of the French, they, with their wives and children, ran out to a troop of mercenaries passing on their way from Uri and Schwyz to join the French army, to beg them to take over the town for the Confederates; the Bellinzona men wished in future to own for ever the Swiss as their masters. The captain of the Uri men, Walter in der Gassen, did not take long to consider this offer, but occupied the town with its fine castles and thick walls, and went no further upon his way. Nidwalden also became associated in the rule of the new domain; and on April 14, 1500, four days after the duke of Milan had been taken prisoner, the representatives of the town and county of Bellinzona swore fealty to the two-and-a-half Cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Nidwalden "doing so, not in fear, but joyfully and of their own free will"; being, in return, confirmed in their liberties, and being assured that they should never in future be abandoned. King Louis, however, was by no means inclined to leave the key to the St Gotthard in the hands of the Swiss. He demanded the surrender of Bellinzona, and, when the Confederates reminded him of his earlier promise to cede to them Bellinzona and other towns, he declared that his honour forbade him to give up any portion of the territory that had been entrusted to him—although his regard for this same honour proved no obstacle to his rewarding the Venetians for their cooperation with such towns as Cremona and Lodi. Louis XII was a tough customer; he threatened to break off the alliance, and treated as enemies the Bellinzona men who were in Lombardy.

But the Uri men and their associates were tough customers likewise. "Just as little (they declared) as we would abandon our own fatherland, our wives, and our children, so little also, and even far less willingly, would we abandon Bellinzona." Wearied with the fruitless negotiations, the forces of the three Forest Cantons crossed the St Gotthard in February, 1503; the other Cantons had to follow their summons for good or for evil, and 14,000 Swiss came down to Arona on the Lago Maggiore. Louis XII now perceived that the matter was serious, and determined to give way. In a peace signed at Arona on April 10, 1503, he handed over the town and county of Bellinzona together with Val Blenio to Uri, Schwyz and Nidwalden, and also confirmed the Confederates in their ancient exemption from customs duties in Lombardy.

In consequence of this dispute, the sympathies of the Swiss for France had notably cooled, and the result was that the patriotic party, which had long been zealously working against foreign mercenary service, secured what seemed at first sight a decisive victory. Three months after the peace of Arona a Federal law was adopted by all the Cantons, in accordance with which the receipt of pensions and gifts from foreign powers became a crime punishable in body and estate, and foreign military service without permission of the Diet was most strictly forbidden. A Federal delegation travelled from Canton to Canton to secure the formal acceptance of the ordinance relating to mercenary service (*Pensionenbrief*) by the councils and the Cantonal assemblies. But the aristocracy could no longer do without the "sweet tasting morsel" of foreign annuities and gifts. Lucerne was the first to fall away from the formally accepted law, on quite inadequate pretexts; and the virtue of the other Cantons soon gave way. In Bern, the ecclesiastical head of the town, the bishop of Lausanne, undertook to allay the pangs of conscience of the faithful; he knew so well how to describe convincingly the nullity of the oath that had been taken to accept no foreign gold, that councillors and burghers, kneeling before him, were solemnly absolved from their oath. Thus the rulers themselves brought about the failure of the new ordinance, in order to be able to continue in the undisturbed enjoyment of gains which they had themselves publicly recognised as immoral. In 1507, when under the leadership of a silk-dyer, Paolo of Novi, a democratic movement was initiated in Genoa, it was with the aid of a force of

6000 Swiss that Louis XII was able to repress the disturbance and punish the offenders.

The subjugation of Genoa was, however, the last service rendered by the Swiss to this king. In the spring of 1509, the ten years' treaty between France and Switzerland expired; and Louis was willing to renew it only under conditions which would have made the Swiss blind instruments of his will. The Confederates could not but resent the disdainful character of the king's proposals, nor had they sunk so low as to be willing to sell their freedom for gold. They did not even vouchsafe an answer to the king, and broke off the negotiations. Louis XII, who was an economist at home, was by no means displeased. He had had enough, he said, of allowing himself to be taxed by miserable peasants. He intended to replace the Swiss mercenaries by German lansquenets, the recruiting of whom would not involve a costly alliance and the payment of open and of secret annual tribute; moreover, in case of need, he hoped to obtain Swiss mercenaries even against the will of their governments. He was soon to learn, however, that on this occasion he was altogether out of his reckoning. Another was quite ready to employ the Swiss against king Louis.

CHAPTER IV

MATTHEW SCHINNER AND THE WAR WITH FRANCE

This was a period in which people changed alliances as they change their gloves and their shirts; the friend of to-day was the enemy of to-morrow. The German king Maximilian had only just been doing all he could to obtain mercenaries from Switzerland to help him to deprive the French king of Milan, and to obtain the imperial crown in Rome. He failed in this, for France and Venice armed in order to prevent his entry into Italy, and he was obliged to content himself on February 4, 1508, at Trent in Italian Tirol, with the adoption of the title of "Roman Emperor" without being crowned by the Pope. But the emperor and the king of France, who, so late as the beginning of this year, had been embittered enemies, joined at the end of 1508 with Pope Julius II and the king of Spain in the League of Cambray in order to destroy the most powerful Italian state, Venice, and to divide its domain among themselves. The Republic of St Mark, thus threatened on all sides, sought help from the Swiss, who were themselves afraid that the League of Cambray was directed against all free states, and were therefore not disinclined for an alliance with Venice. But on May 14, 1509, before the negotiations between Venice and Switzerland had been seriously undertaken, the Venetians suffered at the hands of the French a great defeat at Agnadello, and they consequently recalled their envoys from Switzerland, preferring to break up the League of Cambray by making separate concessions to its several members.

The first of their opponents whom they endeavoured to detach from the league was Julius II. This powerful Pope, who summoned Michelangelo, Raphael and Bramante to his court, and gave to the world the Basilica of St Peter, the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, and the *Loggie* of the Vatican, was also a statesman of far-reaching aims. His immediate object was the restoration of the States of the Church, which had been almost entirely dissolved

into different temporal lordships; and he had gone to war with the Venetians, in order to recover from them Ravenna, Faenza and Rimini which they had torn from it. After having, with the aid of the league, humiliated the proud Republic and forced it to surrender its prey, the Pope now conceived the wider aim of driving the "barbarians," the French, out of Italy. While still apparently conducting himself as a member of the League of Cambray he was really working with all his might for its destruction. He planned an alliance with Venice, Spain and England against the French, and desired also to induce the Emperor to join. Above all, however, he placed his hopes in the Swiss.

At the very outset of his reign he had turned his attention towards the warlike people of the Alps, and in the year 1505 he engaged a permanent Swiss guard of 400 men for the protection of his person and his palace. He now sought to obtain the aid of the Swiss against the French, employing as intermediary Matthew Schinner, bishop of Sion. This Valaisan priest was one of the most notable statesmen of his time, and one of the greatest figures in the history of Switzerland. Born about the year 1470 at Mühlbach, a village in the commune of Ernen in the Upper Valais, where the house of his birth may still be seen, he received an admirable education in Bern, Zurich and Como, and began his career as parish-priest in Ernen and as secretary of the powerful popular leader, George Supersaxo, in whose train he appeared in 1490 in certain negotiations with Milan. He took part in the expulsion of the francophil bishop, Jost of Silenen, which was effected in 1496 by George Supersaxo, presumably at the instigation of Milan. Shortly afterwards his uncle, Nicholas Schinner, was made bishop, and under him Matthew became dean and vicar-general of Sion. In 1499 Nicholas was induced to resign, and his far more talented nephew became bishop, thus becoming also lord paramount of the Valais.

The new bishop immediately began to take an active part in the politics of the Confederation. His hostility to France dominated the whole of his life. In 1500 he was a zealous partisan of Ludovico Sforza; in 1503 he was with the Confederates when they marched against the French on account of Bellinzona, and as their plenipotentiary he concluded the peace of Arona. From 1507 onwards he was continually associated with the papal court; in 1508 he was named cardinal *in petto*. In 1509 he journeyed to Rome, where

Julius II recognised in him a kindred spirit. Henceforward, the bishop of Sion was one of the main pillars of the policy of Julius II. In personal appearance a man of long and gaunt figure and with a prominent nose, Schinner possessed a vigorous nature, endowed with a penetrating understanding, an astonishing memory, and unflagging powers of work. Speaking of his eloquence Giovio says that he moved the Swiss as the wind moves the waves; and Francis I was of opinion that the tongue of this priest had given him far more trouble than the long pikes of the bishop's countrymen. Moreover, Schinner was no mere tool in the hands of the Pope. The English diplomatist, Richard Pace, said of him, "The Legate is a thorough-going Swiss, especially where his own interests are concerned." Schinner understood what a weight the Confederates could throw into the scale of European politics if their actions were directed by a consistent will. It appears to have been the goal of his ambition to be this chosen leader, to elevate Switzerland to the rank of a great power, and thereby to establish his own greatness. Switzerland was to take a hand in the game among the great powers, not as formerly in the position of salaried servant, but independently; in northern Italy the influence of Switzerland was to replace that of France. Thus the Valaisan bishop became the leading advocate of the policy of Swiss expansion. Had his plans proved successful, the Swiss would have become masters of Italy.

On March 14th, 1510, he brought about a five years' alliance between the Confederates and Pope Julius II, whereby the Swiss, in return for the payment of an annual stipend, undertook to safeguard the Holy See, and promised to furnish at his demand a force of 6000 men for use against his enemies. To his fellow-countrymen Schinner represented this alliance in as harmless a light as possible; it was merely a matter of defending the States of the Church against the robber rulers of Italy. In reality the only thought of the Pope and of the bishop was to make use of the Swiss immediately in a war against France. Hardly had the alliance been concluded when Schinner demanded the 6000 men to protect the States of the Church against the duke of Ferrara. The only trouble was that the duke of Ferrara was an ally of the king of France, and that, so far as the Pope was concerned, the matter was not one of defence but of attack. Julius II had drawn up a comprehensive plan of campaign. His own army was to overthrow the Ferrarese and to provoke

a rebellion in Genoa; the Swiss were to drive the French out of Milan; and the Venetians were to repel the Emperor. It could be foreseen that the king of France would forbid the passage through Lombardy of the Swiss who were marching against his allies. The Pope and Schinner had no doubt that the Swiss would use force, and that the desired collision between the Swiss and the French would thus be brought about. Although Louis XII and Emperor Maximilian endeavoured to open the eyes of the Confederates to the designs of the Pope, in the month of August a force of from 8000 to 10,000 mercenaries from all the Cantons assembled in Ticino and approached the Tresa where the French blocked their way. It now seemed as if that was occurring which the Pope and Schinner had counted on. The Confederates took Ponte Tresa by storm, drove before them the Franco-Milanese troops that attempted to oppose their passage, and pressed forward into Lombardy. But the farther they advanced, the more difficult became their situation. All the roads were barricaded, all the bridges broken down; the French viceroy destroyed mills and bakehouses, had all the food in the country brought into fortified places, and threatened the Swiss with his cavalry. The Emperor uttered threats regarding the breach of the peace, while France used her influence by spending money. The result was that the Swiss Diet decided to recall its army; and the mercenaries, who had already advanced as far as Cantù to the south of Como, were only too glad to obey. Nevertheless the Diet sent in a bill to the Pope for the services of the mercenaries. Julius II was infuriated by this issue of the affair; his whole plan of campaign lay in ruins; from attacker he had become the attacked and embarrassed party.

In consequence of the refusal of the Pope to send the pay demanded by the Swiss, the new friendship was threatened with disaster. The Confederates did not, however, respond to the advances of Louis XII, who had gradually come to recognise what a mistake it had been on his part to fail to renew his alliance with Switzerland. On the other hand, on February 11th, 1511, they formed with Louis' ally, Maximilian, a so-called "hereditary alliance" (*Erbeinung*), a sort of perpetual league, by which, in return for a small annual stipend, the Confederates undertook the duty of "faithful supervision" over the adjoining Austrian domains, and especially over Franche Comté. By this hereditary alliance,

which persisted until the extinction of the old Confederation, the differences with the former hereditary enemy came to an end; henceforward the alliance constituted the foundation of the relations between the Confederates and Austria, imposing upon the Swiss a protectorate, as it were, over Franche Comté, as the outcome of which for a hundred and fifty years to come the French did not venture to lay hands on this region.

While the Confederation as a whole remained hostile to France, in individual Cantons the hired adherents of the king continued to work actively on his behalf. This was especially the case in Schinner's own home. Here his former patron, George Supersaxo, had become his bitter opponent. Supersaxo, a man of strong and savage character, had gone over to the side of France, and during Schinner's absence in Rome had ventured to arrange an alliance between France and some of the *dizains* of the Valais. When Schinner returned, Supersaxo had to take to flight, but was arrested in Fribourg at the instigation of the bishop, and seemed likely to be executed for the crime with which he was charged. But Schultheiss (chief magistrate) Arsent, a burgher of Fribourg and a hireling of France, helped Supersaxo to escape; thereupon Arsent was deposed by the anti-French party in the town and was beheaded in March, 1511. Meanwhile Supersaxo found means to return to the Valais; his followers raised the signal of revolt; and Schinner's position became so precarious that in July, 1511, he in turn was forced to take to flight. He took refuge in Rome, where in August he was formally installed as cardinal of Santa Potentiana. In the previous February he had received the bishopric of Novara in addition to that of Sion.

The conclusion of the "Holy League" between the Pope, Venice, and the king of Spain, which was signed on October 5th, 1511, gave yet another turn to Italian affairs. The leaguers hoped for the accession of the king of England to the league and for the support of the Swiss. A comparatively trifling incident did in fact lead to the outbreak of war between the Swiss and the French. Two envoys from Schwyz and from Fribourg had been detained and killed in Lugano, and Louis XII delayed to give the satisfaction that was demanded. Thereupon the Schwyzers and the Fribourgers with unfurled banners crossed the St Gotthard in November, 1511; the contingents of the other Cantons soon followed at their summons;

and an army of 10,000 Confederates entered Lombardy. In his nephew, Gaston de Foix, Louis XII had at his disposal a young, vigorous and able commander. Not feeling himself strong enough to offer open battle to the Swiss, Gaston cut off their communications, and when they were crossing rivers and in other unfavourable positions persistently harassed them by attacking them with the celebrated French cavalry. This time, however, their advance upon Milan could not be checked. Under the leadership of their chief captain, Jakob Stapfer of Zurich, they arrived before the capital on December 14th, and Gaston de Foix withdrew his forces within its walls.

The news of the Swiss invasion ran through Italy like fire, and filled the enemies of France with exultation. At once the Holy League was everywhere in movement; the Venetians sent their troops from Friuli against the Milanese; the Spanish viceroy in Naples led his army along the coast of the Adriatic; while the Pope sent men to attack Bologna which had been taken from him by the French. Louis XII despatched across the Alps all the soldiers he could spare from France. Gaston de Foix had been careful to prepare Milan for a siege. In these circumstances the Confederates could not venture to storm the town; they were quite inadequately equipped and insufficiently numerous for a regular siege. They would have been delighted to encounter the enemy in open battle, but the French took good care to keep within their walls. Lying in the fields suffering hunger and cold was not the strong point of the Swiss. As they were getting short of food and the weather had become extremely cold, on December 20th they determined to retreat. Once again, hapless Lombardy had to suffer on account of the non-success of a Swiss campaign. It was a fire-lit road along which the Swiss returned home; more than twenty towns and villages were plundered and burned; on certain days they burned as many as 3000 dwellings. When the Venetians reached the Adige in order to effect a junction with the Swiss, these were already back in their own mountains.

The retreat of the Swiss now gave the French an opportunity of carrying out, under the leadership of Gaston de Foix, a brilliant and victorious campaign against the Holy League. Gaston forced the Papal and Spanish troops to raise the siege of Bologna, defeated the Venetians, and took Brescia by storm. Finally, at Ravenna, on

April 11th, 1512, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the united armies of the League under the Spanish viceroy, Cardona, but lost his own life in this battle. After the battle of Ravenna, Italy lay at the feet of the French. Louis XII summoned a council of schismatic cardinals at Milan, by which Julius II was declared deposed; and the Pope made preparations for flight.

Once more the intervention of the Swiss suddenly changed the situation. Cardinal Schinner, who, in January, 1512, was appointed *legatus a latere* to Germany, was on his way back to Switzerland to seek assistance for the Pope, when he encountered in Venice a Swiss delegation sent to that city to fetch thence the annual stipend promised by the Pope. Schinner was able to win over the members of this delegation to the idea of a fresh attack upon Lombardy and at the same time to persuade Venice to provide pecuniary aid. He then prepared the way for the coming Swiss army by arranging for a truce between Maximilian and Venice as a preliminary step for the Emperor's desertion of France and his accession to the League.

At the end of April, 1512, the Swiss Diet approved the campaign in Lombardy. The army was to march from Chur through Tirol to Verona, in order to effect a junction with the Venetians before the fighting began. Consequently, in May, 18,000 Swiss made their way into Tirol by different routes. Although the Emperor had not yet openly broken with France, not only did he allow free passage to the Swiss, but also gave strict instructions to the German lansquenets who formed part of the French army that they were to offer no opposition. Under Baron Ulrich von Hohensax as commander-in-chief and Jakob Stapfer as chief captain, the Confederates marched down the valley of the Adige. In Verona, evacuated by the French before the Swiss arrived, the cardinal-legate Schinner received his fellow-countrymen, and in accordance with the Pope's instructions presented them with a golden sword and an embroidered hat, in virtue of which Julius II nominated the Confederation *Gonfaloniere*, that is to say "Standard Bearer" of the States of the Church. Under Schinner's leadership, the army then marched to Villafranca, where on June 1st it was joined by the Venetians, a force of 4200 cavalry, 5500 infantry and an abundance of fine artillery.

This vigorous onslaught on the part of the Swiss and of the

Venetians found the French in Italy in a desperate plight, despite their victory at Ravenna, so that a serious resistance on their part was hardly possible. The death of Gaston de Foix had deprived them of their most capable commander; La Palice, who had replaced him, did not possess the same energy. Louis XII, too, instead of sending reinforcements, had made La Palice send back across the Alps a portion of his heavy cavalry, since Henry VIII had allied himself with Ferdinand of Spain for a joint attack upon France. On June 2nd, the Swiss-Venetian army began the campaign, crossing the Mincio near Valeggio. Retreating behind the Oglio, La Palice received a further blow when the greater part of his German lansquenets, obeying the Emperor's orders, left his army to take their way homeward through Tirol, only a minority remaining with the French, who were no longer in a position to offer any resistance. At first La Palice thought of shutting himself up in Milan, but as an insurrection was threatening there, he took refuge in Pavia with the remnants of his fine army. Since the allied forces now threatened to cut off his further retreat, he resolved on June 18th to evacuate this town also. While the evacuation was in progress the Swiss swarmed over the walls, and inflicted a fresh defeat upon the retreating forces, in consequence of which La Palice decided to withdraw the vestiges of his army across the Alps as speedily as possible. Schinner made a solemn entry into Pavia, and then returned with the army to Alessandria. The Milanese acknowledged their subjection by an embassy, and allowed a Swiss garrison to take possession of the town. Before or after Milan, the other towns of Lombardy capitulated, surrendering, according to their various situations, to the League, to the Republic of Venice, to the Pope, or to the Emperor. The Emilian towns, Bologna, Ravenna and Rimini, opened their gates to the papal troops. Even Genoa shook off the French yoke, and appointed an anti-French Doge at the head of the government. In a few fortresses only did the French garrison maintain themselves; and with these exceptions the whole of Northern Italy was cleared of the French.

Julius II was intoxicated by this sudden change in the posture of affairs. For three days Rome was given over to rejoicings, and Raphael received instructions to immortalise these achievements in the *loggie* of the Vatican. The great fresco of the *loggia d'Eliodoro*

depicts, after the second book of the Maccabees, the expulsion of the heathen commander Heliodorus from the Temple at Jerusalem. With irresistible might the heavenly horseman, accompanied by two youths flying through the air, has smitten to the ground the robber of the temple. In the foreground is seated Julius II, contemplating the miracle. The application is obvious. Heliodorus the heathen is the king of France; the Temple is the States of the Church, which the heavenly hosts, that is to say the Swiss, have saved from destruction.

The Pope recognised without reserve that the victory was due to the intervention of the Swiss. On July 5th he issued a bull conferring on them the title of 'Protectors of the Liberty of the Church," just as former popes had given to the king of France the title of "Most Christian King," or to the king of Spain the title of "Catholic Majesty." He also presented them with two beautiful banners, one bearing the papal arms, and the other the keys of the Roman Church. In addition, each contingent of the Cantons, the "Allies," and the subject-districts received a special banner, designed according to its own wish. In the Swiss National Museum and other collections some of the banners of Pope Julius are still preserved as monuments of this brilliant "Pavian campaign."

For the rest, the Pope endeavoured to turn the victory of the Swiss to his own account inasmuch as, to the extreme annoyance of Schinner, he persuaded Parma and Piacenza to enter the States of the Church. The Venetians raised a claim to all the territory eastward from the Adda. In the background loomed the Emperor and the king of Spain, each of whom would have been glad to secure for himself the much disputed duchy of Milan. But the Swiss would not on this occasion allow themselves to be put aside as simple mercenaries; they desired a decisive voice in the ordering of northern Italy. Meanwhile Schinner, with the support of the Swiss arms, took over the administration of the conquered territory. When the Spanish viceroy was hastening by forced marches to Milan with the intention of establishing his camp at its gates, he was met at Bologna by two envoys from Schinner, who said that the Swiss desired to know with what intentions he had left the kingdom of Naples. If it was his purpose to drive the French out of the duchy, his coming was superfluous, for the French had already left. The Swiss could not permit the king of Spain to

establish himself in their place. Intimidated by this embassy, the Spaniard remained at Modena.

The first use the Confederates made of their conquest was to effect certain advantageous roundings-off of their territory to the south. The Uri men, the Schwyzers, and the Unterwaldeners occupied Domo d'Ossola, Lugano, Locarno, Mendrisio and Luino. The Grison men took possession of the Valtellina, Bormio and Chiavenna, upon which they had ancient claims, in the name of the bishopric of Chur; and they also took the villages of Gravedona, Domaso and Sorico, at the upper end of the lake of Como. These acquisitions, although undertaken upon the initiative of individual members of the Confederation, were declared by the Diet to be "common domains" of all the districts, a decision which the Grisons men would not accept as far as their conquests were concerned. Thus the whole region of the Alps from Monte Rosa to the Stelvio, with its numerous passes, was now in Swiss hands. Simultaneously Bern, Fribourg, Solothurn and Lucerne, occupied the county of Neuchâtel, with which of old they had had alliances, and which in 1504 had passed into French hands upon the marriage of the heiress Joanna of Hochberg to the duke of Longueville. The town of Neuchâtel was also declared to be a "common domain" of the (then) twelve Cantons, and was ruled by a Federal governor.

The principal question which now occupied European diplomacy was the fate of the duchy of Milan. Upon Schinner's advice the Confederates invited the interested powers to send plenipotentiaries to Switzerland so as to come to an understanding on this matter. Such a demand on the part of a nation which had hitherto been regarded simply as a recruiting ground for mercenary troops, and which had accepted payment for its services, came as a surprise to the powers, but none of them ventured to refuse. Consequently the Diets which were held in August and September, 1512, at Baden in Aargau were transformed into European congresses. There were present envoys from the Pope, the Emperor and the king of Spain, Venice, Savoy, Lorraine, as well as from the Milanese themselves. The proud Louis XII had written a long letter to the Confederates suggesting a cessation of hostilities and requesting a renewal of the alliance, and he offered to submit his dispute with Julius II to the arbitrament of the Swiss. Since the Confederates returned no answer and also refused to permit the admittance

of an embassy, he endeavoured to open negotiations with them through the mediation of the dukes of Savoy and Lorraine. To these intermediaries on the part of Louis XII the Swiss gave sufficient hearing to arouse fears in the minds of the members of the League that the Swiss might after all come to an understanding with France; and this fear made the leaguers more pliable. On the other hand, the imperial envoys demanded that the decision about Milan, which was a fief of the Empire, should be left to its overlord; while the king of Spain offered 300,000 ducats at once and a subsequent yearly payment of 50,000 ducats for the establishment of his grandson and Maximilian's (afterwards Emperor Charles V) as duke of Milan.

The Swiss, however, desired to see neither France nor the Habsburgs in possession of Lombardy. In unison with the Pope and the Milanese themselves they declared in favour of the young Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico Sforza, as the rightful heir. No one ventured to oppose their will. On September 22nd, 1512, they concluded with the new prince a treaty in virtue of which he paid them a cash indemnity of 150,000 ducats, and promised an annual tribute of 40,000 ducats; ceded Lugano, Luino, Mendrisio, Locarno, Domo d'Ossola, confirmed their ancient freedom from customs-dues, and promised to assist them with cavalry when they should be at war. In return for these undertakings, the Confederates agreed to safeguard the duchy for ever. This treaty placed Lombardy under the protectorate of Switzerland. "Between the two greatest powers of those which coveted Milan, the French and the Austro-Spanish," writes Ranke, "stood the Swiss, to hold them both off." One of the most beautiful and wealthiest countries of Europe now occupied a position towards Switzerland similar to that which is to-day occupied by Tunis or Morocco towards France or by the Indian principalities towards Great Britain. At the same time the Confederates concluded a twenty-five years' league with the duke of Savoy, whereby the duke undertook to furnish them aid with cavalry and to pay a small annual tribute, while the Swiss promised him their support. Thus Piedmont also passed to some extent under their protection.

For the solemn installation of Maximilian Sforza, the Swiss Diet sent an embassy to Milan. Before the festival a dispute broke out between the Swiss and the representative of the Emperor, Matthew

Lang, bishop of Gurk, who claimed that the young prince should be installed in the name of the Empire. The strong objection raised by Baron von Hohensax against Sforza's daring to receive his dominion from the hands of those who had forcibly deprived him of it, and his threat to break the Baden treaty of alliance and lead the Confederate troops home, proved decisive in favour of the Confederates, who, as one of the Venetians expressed it, "were lions among wolves." On December 29th, 1512, Maximilian Sforza made his entry into Milan. Cardinal Schinner as papal legate, the bishop of Gurk as representative of the Emperor, and the Spanish viceroy of Naples, rode by his side. But the key of the town, the symbol of sovereignty, he received beneath the main city gate from the burgomaster Schmid of Zurich; and the duke expressed his thanks to his "dear Fathers," the Confederates, and commended himself to their protection. Schinner remained with the duke as Swiss resident, to give the new prince his aid and advice. In addition to the bishopric of Novara, the cardinal received the county of Vigerano with a rich revenue. With all the more reason we may regard Schinner as representative of the Swiss protectorate in Milan, because Julius II, dissatisfied with his conduct, deprived him of the title of legate, and summoned him to Rome to answer for his actions. The cardinal was saved from a difficult struggle only by the death of the Pope on February 21st, 1513, and the election of Leo X.

In consequence of the Pavian campaign the Swiss had attained to a brilliant and powerful position, but they were soon to learn that such a position cannot be maintained without severe sacrifices and continuous effort. The persistent Louis XII had by no means renounced his hopes of Milan. He succeeded in winning Venice to his side, for this city had recently been threatened by the Emperor. On March 23rd, 1513, Louis XII signed with the Republic (which four years before he had fought at Agnadello) an offensive and defensive alliance for the conquest of Milan. At the same time he secured himself against an attack from the side of the Pyrenees by a one-year's truce with Ferdinand of Spain. Although at this moment Emperor Maximilian and Henry VIII of England joined in alliance against him, he felt sufficiently strong to take the offensive against Milan. In the spring, his army crossed the pass of Mont-Genèvre under the tried leaders La Trémoïlle,

Trivulzio and Robert, prince of Sedan. It consisted of 7000 cavalry, 6500 French and Italian foot-soldiers and 7500 German lansquenets who had gone to France in defiance of the Emperor's prohibition. The duke of Savoy and the marquis of Montferrat joined the side which they believed to be the stronger, and each sent a hundred lances, so that the army in round numbers now consisted of 8000 cavalry and 14,000 foot; it was also well supplied with artillery. At the same time a French fleet appeared before Genoa and took possession of the town, which was torn by factions. While the French army invaded Lombardy from the west, the Venetians attacked from the east under the leadership of Alviano. In Milan, a successful rising occurred on May 28th, 1513, and the capital joyfully declared in favour of the French. Its example was followed by most of the other towns of the duchy, which was already tired of the rule of Sforza, above all on account of the heavy taxation which was rendered necessary by the duke's relations with the Swiss.

The behaviour of the Holy League was ambiguous. It is true that Pope Leo X summoned the Swiss to observe the alliance with the Church which had been concluded by his predecessor, but personally, notwithstanding all the appeals of Schinner, he remained scrupulously neutral. The help of Emperor Maximilian consisted as usual of great designs without actions to correspond. The Spanish viceroy was near at hand, and Maximilian Sforza appealed to him urgently for assistance; but the Spaniard looked on inactive, waiting for the opportune moment to fish in troubled waters. The result was that against the overpowering double onslaught of the French and of the Venetians, Sforza was left to rely solely upon his true protectors, the Swiss, and these, in turn, could look for no force but their own. With 4000 men, which the Swiss Diet had sent to the duke upon his first appeal for help, he shut himself up in Novara. On June 3rd, 1513, the French invested the town. Mindful of the success which at the same place and under the same leaders they had secured over the duke's father, they hoped for an easy victory on this occasion also. La Trémoïlle wrote to the king that he would send him the son as he had sent him the father; and Trivulzio considered that he held the Swiss as one holds molten lead in a spoon.

On June 4th the French began the siege of Novara, and with such

success at first that by noon there was a breach twenty fathoms wide in the outer wall. The conditions differed, however, from those of thirteen years before. On this occasion the Swiss force in Novara had no fellow-countrymen in the besiegers' camp. With no conflict of duties, conscious that they were fighting for the honour and the greatness of their fatherland, they disdainfully rejected Trivulzio's summons that they should surrender the duke, and fought with desperate valour. According to Giovio, they shouted scornful phrases from the walls against their old opponents, the lansquenets, invited them to deliver an attack by storm so as to save their powder, and in order to make a mock of the enemy hung simple linen cloths across the breaches. In the Swiss narratives we find no account of such scenes of arrogance as this; but from these also it is plain that the garrison bravely did their duty, kept the enemy busy by making sallies, and remained continually under arms till the following day, repelling several onslaughts. The French hesitated to attack the breached walls by storm for fear of the heavy losses which this measure would involve, and the raising of the siege was already at hand.

On May 21st, 1513, the Swiss Diet had determined to send a new levy of 8000 men to the assistance of the force already in the field. This second detachment started so early as the 27th, the central Cantons sending their levies over the St Gotthard, the eastern over the Splügen, and the western over the Simplon. The western and central columns effected a junction at Arona on the Lago Maggiore. After waiting vainly awhile for the eastern detachment, which had been delayed by floods, and having received news of the imminent peril of their countrymen in Novara, they marched on, 4500 strong, and reached the beleaguered town on June 5th at ten o'clock in the evening. It is an indication of the respect which was felt for the Swiss troops that the French commanders did not venture with their superior forces to block the way to Novara against the little relieving army, but suddenly raised the siege at noon on the 5th, directly they were informed of the approach of the Swiss reinforcements, and retired to an admirably chosen defensive position near the little town of Trecate. Here, in a plain traversed by the Mora and by numerous dikes, and covered with morass and woodland, they established a camp, which they speedily fortified with barricades and earthworks. Thus protected, they expected to be able to refuse

battle, and in accordance with the tactics of earlier years to protract the war until the Swiss, tired of the campaign, should betake themselves home.

The French, however, had failed to take into account the fierce lust of battle which inspired the Swiss. The very first night the latter decided to attack, without even awaiting the arrival of the eastern detachment. Early in the morning of June 6th they poured out through the gates and the breaches "like angry bees." The attack was altogether unexpected by the French, but the experienced French commanders did not lose their heads. The trumpets called the men to their posts, and the artillery stood ready; all was prepared to meet the enemy. The Swiss had hoped to attack an enemy thrown into wild disorder, but instead they saw before them an admirably ordered army twice as strong as their own. The sun rose at this moment, and in its rays the arms of the French cuirassiers shone like a mountain of bright steel. Under the eyes of the enemy the Swiss divided themselves into three sections—an advance-guard of 3000, a main body of 4000, and a rearguard—all of which moved out separately. The advance-guard first reached the enemy. The French artillery, protected by 7000 lansquenets, hurled death and destruction on the advancing soldiers. But for these brave men there was no turning back; and a terrible hand-to-hand fight was soon in progress between the Swiss vanguard and the German lansquenets. As the Swiss were at length driving the lansquenets back, the heavy French cavalry under Robert, prince of Sedan, attacked the Swiss square from the flank and from behind, and broke it up. It was a critical moment, and duke Maximilian, who was close to the rearguard now advancing into action, fled back to Novara with his train.

While, along the front, the vanguard and the rearguard were fighting with all their strength, the main body of the Confederates effected an encircling movement, which decided the issue. Hidden from the enemy by woodland and hollows, the Swiss advanced along the Mora, and at length took the French altogether in the flank. The French infantry lost their heads at this unexpected attack and began at once to flee, while the movement of the heavy cavalry in this direction was hindered by the swamps and the dikes. The lansquenets, attacked from two sides, front and rear, were utterly crushed. The cavalry still made some ineffectual attempts

to rescue the infantry, and then the entire French army fled in disorder. In the final confusion, Robert of Sedan saved his knightly honour; with a detachment of cuirassiers he succeeded in rescuing his sons, Fleuranges and Jamets, who had both been wounded. As the Swiss had no horsemen, almost all the French cavalry got away in safety, but of the foot soldiers 6000 were left dead upon the field. All the baggage, twenty-two pieces of heavy artillery, and a number of flags, fell into the hands of the conquerors. On their side, however, in the four hours' battle, the Swiss had lost from 1000 to 1500 men. In the evening, the eastern detachment of the Swiss appeared upon the scene, heartily disgusted at having come too late: after these, there came also numerous volunteers.

With the bloody battle of Novara, the Confederates attained the climax of their war-like renown and of their power. The astonishing thing was that they had been able to defeat a force double their own strength, composed of the alarming combination of fine artillery, stout infantry, and the best cavalry, commanded by tried leaders, and enjoying the advantage of position. "Never (says Guicciardini) did the Swiss nation make a finer and bolder resolve; a few against many, without horsemen or field-pieces to attack an army so admirably provided with both of these. Yet they did this under no pressure of need, for the siege of Novara had been raised, and they could expect next day the arrival of a not inconsiderable reinforcement. The conquerors returned in triumph to Novara, having acquired such renown throughout the whole world that many have ventured, considering the courage of the advance guard, the visible contempt of death, the boldness of the struggle and the luck, to reckon this deed of arms more highly than almost any of the memorable actions recorded of the Greeks and the Romans."

The routed army fled back to France over the Mont Cenis. The Swiss force in Lombardy now numbered 16,000 men, prepared to overcome all opposition to their protégé. The whole duchy surrendered, led by the capital which had to pay for its capricious change of side by a heavy fine and several executions. The other defeated towns had also to pay indemnities to the Swiss; and the same obligation was imposed upon the duke of Savoy and the marquesses of Saluzzo and of Montferrat. The Venetians beat a hasty retreat. The change in the situation made its influence felt

so far as Genoa, upon which a new doge was imposed by the Spanish viceroy. In the middle of July the Swiss returned home, leaving a garrison in the duchy of Milan.

Their glorious victory was celebrated in a remarkable manner by a popular uprising which broke out in the Cantons of Bern, Solothurn and Lucerne against the French party in the councils, this party being blamed for the hope the king of France continued to cherish that he would be able to regain Lombardy. By the execution of some of the councillors in French pay and by the enforced resignation of others, all of whom had received money from the French, by the strict prohibition of pensions, and by various concessions to the peasants, the disturbance was brought under control. The best means to secure internal peace seemed to be the undertaking of a campaign against France, of which there had long been talk. The conditions were exceptionally favourable for this plan. Henry VIII of England, accompanied by his ally Maximilian, began the war against France from Calais in June, 1513; and the Emperor invited the Swiss to attack from the east, promising support with money, cavalry and artillery. On August 2nd the Swiss Diet resolved upon the war, levying 16,000 men for the purpose, to whom there were added 10,000 volunteers. Under commission from the Emperor, duke Ulrich of Würtemberg joined the army with 1000 cavalry and twenty field-pieces. At the end of August the Swiss force, now numbering nearly 30,000 men, started by way of Besançon towards Dijon.

On September 4th, 1513, their advance-guard appeared before the capital of Burgundy, and the rest of the army arrived in a few days. On the 9th, the bombardment of the town began, and the guns were used with such effect that in two days a great breach had been made in the walls, and the town was ripe to be taken by storm. It was a dangerous moment, not for Dijon alone, but for France as well. On August 16th, at the "Battle of the Spurs" at Guinegâte, the English had inflicted a severe defeat upon the French, and had taken the fortress of Térouenne, so that France was now threatened by two armies of superior strength, the English in the north and the Swiss in the east.

La Trémoïlle, commanding Dijon as governor of Burgundy, had done all in his power to prepare the town for a siege. But how could he hope, with a garrison numbering only 5000 men, to repel

an attack by storm made by 30,000 Swiss? There was no hope of support from the king, who was hard-pressed by the English; and, since the fall of the town seemed inevitable, he found it necessary to ask for terms. It was not difficult to revive old relations with the Swiss captains; but La Trémoïlle hesitated some time before he would accede to the hard conditions of the Swiss. The bombardment was twice resumed before the Governor gave way. At length, on September 13th, 1513, a treaty of peace was drawn up, in accordance with which king Louis XII was to renounce all claim to the duchy of Milan and to Asti in favour of the Confederates, and was to pay them a war indemnity of 400,000 crowns, while the duke of Würtemberg and his troopers were to receive 10,000 crowns.

While Emperor Maximilian, in encouraging the Swiss invasion of Burgundy, may well have had in mind the prospect of permanently weakening France, the Confederates themselves can have had no other aim than to secure an honourable peace which would secure Lombardy to them; and in this respect the peace of Dijon was as favourable and as honourable as possible. The most elementary prudence should, however, have demanded their remaining to threaten Dijon until the peace had been ratified by the king; moreover, their instructions were that they were not to conclude a definitive peace, but to refer all proposals to their governments. The conduct of the Confederate captains in withdrawing with a few hostages the very day after they had come to an understanding with La Trémoïlle, without awaiting ratification either from the king or from the Swiss Diet, is a proof either of their simplicity, or else—and this is unfortunately more probable—of their venality. The excuse that lack of provisions made it impossible to keep an army of 30,000 men before Dijon for another fortnight is one which cannot be sustained, for it was in the power of the Confederates to compel the well-provisioned town to supply them with the necessaries of life. Thus by the folly or the corruption of their military leaders the Swiss were deprived of the benefits of a campaign undertaken in the most favourable circumstances. To the burghers of Dijon their delivery from the terrible enemy, whose presence had for six days filled them with terror, seemed a great and incomprehensible miracle. They considered that they owed their salvation to the Queen of Heaven, whose image had been

carried during the siege in a procession of supplication; it was resolved that this procession should be repeated year by year, and it was actually continued until 1879. However disconcerted Louis XII might at first be about the peace concluded by La Trémoïlle, in view of the premature withdrawal of the Swiss he could afford to wait quietly until they got home again. Then, on October 24th, he declared himself unable to ratify the terms. At the same time, to prepare against a repetition of the inroad, he did all in his power to fortify Dijon, and sent strong reinforcements into Burgundy. The hostages, among whom was a nephew of La Trémoïlle, proved worthless pledges. Since it was no longer the custom to kill them, as it had been in the days of antiquity, they could be left without anxiety in the hands of the Confederates, who fed them for a year and then at length let them go free.

No one was worse pleased at the withdrawal of the Swiss than Henry VIII and the Emperor Maximilian, whose plans were thus completely frustrated. After taking Tournai Henry also returned home, and France was thus happily delivered from the great danger of a double attack. It is true that in November the Swiss Diet resolved upon a new campaign against France, but this was never carried out, because the general European situation was so uncertain. The relations of the powers to each other changed after the fashion of a kaleidoscope. Every moment alliances were being made and broken, princesses were becoming betrothed and their betrothals were being cancelled. It seemed to be the chief amusement of the great ones of the earth to deceive one another by breaches of faith; Pope Leo X, Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Spain, were past masters in this sport. In October, 1513, the Emperor had undertaken, in conjunction with England and Spain, to make a general attack upon France. But this did not prevent Ferdinand of Spain from concluding an alliance with Louis XII on December 1st, an alliance joined also ultimately by Maximilian, in virtue of which Milan was to be forcibly taken from the Swiss, and was to be brought by Renée, the daughter of Louis XII, as a dowry to her betrothed, one of the grandsons of Maximilian and Ferdinand. For this reason, Cardinal Schinner sought to establish direct relationships between the Confederates and Henry VIII of England, hoping to secure for himself the vacant See of York. Louis XII, however, had so little confidence in his new friends that he preferred

to avail himself of the exasperation of Henry VIII concerning the faithlessness of the Emperor and of Ferdinand of Spain, to get on good terms himself with the English king. In August, 1514, France and England signed an offensive and defensive alliance, in accordance with which England expressly recognised the rights of Louis upon Milan; and the alliance was sealed by the marriage of the king of France to Mary, the youngest sister of Henry VIII. Thus safeguarded, Louis XII began serious preparations for a new campaign against Italy, in the midst of which he was overtaken by death on New Year's Day, 1515.

His cousin and successor, the young and ardent Francis I, avid of fame, carried out the plan with yet more energy. With Henry VIII he renewed the alliance made by Louis, and renewed also the alliance with the Republic of Venice. Even the young archduke Charles, the future heir of the Spanish-Habsburg possessions, who was now ruling the Netherlands, entered into an alliance with Francis I, for it seemed to his advisers that he would do well to live at peace with his powerful neighbour until his great inheritance had fallen in. The diplomatic countermining on the anti-French side was chiefly the work of Cardinal Schinner. So early as December, 1514, the alliance of the Holy See with Switzerland was renewed by his mediation, the Pope, however, preserving a cautious reserve in respect of Milan. Indeed, the keenest political intelligence in the Italian peninsula, the Florentine State-secretary Machiavelli, urged him rather to ally himself with France, because the Swiss were more dangerous to the freedom of Italy, and in the event of their victory no means would be left for escaping servitude. Leo X, who was altogether devoid of the energetic initiative of his predecessor, and whose only talent was to be a master in the art of double-faced vacillation, negotiated with all sides at once, and was simultaneously false to all. In the same breath he incited the French to the reconquest of Milan and assured the Swiss of his support. Cardinal Schinner was to the fore in all activities directed against France. In February, 1515, he brought into existence an alliance between the Emperor, Spain, Milan and the Confederates, aiming at the maintenance of the *status quo* in Italy, but also at an offensive against France, either by way of a Swiss invasion of Burgundy with Austro-Spanish support, or else of an attack made by the Emperor and Spain with the aid of Swiss mercenaries. As usual, all these

undertakings were worth no more than the paper on which they were written, and the Swiss entered the struggle alone.

In view of the formidable character of the enemy, Francis I made greater military preparations than any of his predecessors had employed for these transalpine campaigns. The army which he assembled in the vicinity of Lyons contained the flower of the French knighthood, numbering 2500 lances; and since each lance represented, in addition to the horseman in full plate-armour, from three to five less heavily armed riders, the total force of cavalry was from 10,000 to 12,000. In addition there were 1500 Albanians, who at that time served as mercenaries in all armies, forming a greatly valued force of light cavalry. The nucleus of the infantry consisted of 24,000 lansquenets from Germany and the Netherlands, led to join the king by Karl von Egmont, duke of Guelders; among these were the "black bands," 6000 picked infantry soldiers in black armour, with black weapons and banners. There were 10,000 Navarrese, Basques and Gascons, organised after the Spanish model by the condottiere, Pedro of Navarre; there were 8000 men from the north of France, 2500 sappers, carpenters, etc. The artillery was composed of some sixty heavy pieces. The whole army numbered about 60,000 foot-soldiers, with more than 20,000 horse. With the king were the most renowned military leaders of the day, the Constable Charles of Bourbon, and the marshals La Trémoïlle, La Palice, Trivulzio, Lautrec and Aubigny. Since the undertaking was regarded in France as a national one, and had aroused great enthusiasm, the proudest of the nobility had joined the army, as, for instance, the dukes of Montmorency, Claude of Guise (the founder of the celebrated house of that name), Bayard the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, and Robert, prince of Sedan, with his sons Fleuranges and Jamets. On June 30th, Francis I bade farewell to his mother, whom he installed as regent, and started on his way across the western Alps. The war had already begun with a great success for the French. The doge of Genoa, Fregoso, who owed his position to the Holy League, went over to France, exchanging the dignity of doge for that of royal governor.

The news that the gate of entry into Italy had been delivered over to the enemy roused the Confederates to the first despatch of troops across the Alps, and these were soon followed by others. In the beginning of July an army of 24,000 men was assembled

in Piedmont, in order to bar the French passage into Lombardy, at the outlet of the Mont Cenis and the Mont-Genèvre passes, the ways to Lombardy hitherto always employed by the French invaders. The position of this army was by no means a rosy one. The relations of the Confederates to their protégé the duke of Milan were unsatisfactory, since the Confederates laid all the more stress upon their position as protectors in proportion as that position was endangered. While the duke profoundly disliked his humiliating dependence, the population over which he ruled was discontented on account of the burdens imposed upon them by the annual tribute and by the maintenance of the Swiss garrison. Sforza was not in a position to supply the money needed by the army, and the subsidies promised by the allies were not forthcoming, so that the troops remained unpaid, and began to plunder in neutral Piedmont, their discipline consequently becoming greatly relaxed. Besides, there was dissension among the leaders about the plan of campaign. Some of them would have preferred to await the enemy in the neighbourhood of Milan and give battle there, while others held that it would be more advantageous to encounter the greatly superior French force in the mountains. In fact the French leaders considered that it would be bold to the verge of madness to attack the Swiss in their mountain valleys. At Trivulzio's suggestion the major part of the French force took a route hitherto untried from Embrun on the Durance over the Col de l'Argentière, Pedro of Navarre with his engineers and other foot soldiers clearing away the greatest obstacles in the way of the heavy cavalry and the artillery, so that the French appeared quite unexpectedly in the plain of the Po. This was followed by the loss of the Milanese cavalry under Prospero Colonna, who were taken by surprise and captured by the French near the little town of Villafranca. In addition, the hostile attitude of the population of Piedmont and its ill-humour on account of the allies' breach of faith determined the Swiss to withdraw into the Milanese. Francis I followed. More than by force of arms, he attempted to influence them by offers of peace and of money. Through the mediation of Savoy he offered for the surrender of Milan the payment of the 400,000 crowns due in accordance with the terms of the peace of Dijon, 300,000 ducats for the present campaign, besides annual tribute, a French dukedom for their protégé, and so on. The Swiss were already half-

demoralised, and the process of demoralisation was completed by these proposals. Profoundly divided in opinion, the Confederates began to break up. The men of Bern, Fribourg and Solothurn withdrew to Arona on Lago Maggiore, and those of the other Cantons to Monza, while the king occupied the entire western half of the duchy almost without a struggle. The appearance of a new Swiss force of 15,000 men, led by Burgomaster Röist of Zurich into Lombardy at the end of August, failed to heal the split. Those among the rearward troops who came from Bern, Fribourg and Solothurn remained in Domo d'Ossola, and were joined there by their countrymen coming from Arona, while the rest joined the force at Monza. In vain did Röist exhort the contingents from the three towns not to separate themselves from the others; the paid friends of the French were able to thwart a junction. Meanwhile negotiations at Vercelli and Gallarate had on September 9th led to a proposal of peace. Francis I was to indemnify Maximilian Sforza with the duchy of Nemours, and to pay the Confederates 700,000 crowns for the cost of the war and 300,000 crowns for Domo d'Ossola, Lugano, Locarno, Mendrisio, the Valtelline, Chiavenna, and Bormio. To the peace was attached an alliance, by which the Confederates, for an annual payment of 2000 gold francs to each Canton, agreed to furnish the king, whenever he might require it, with recruits for the protection of Milan and of France.

The peace of Gallarate was a shameful botch. A people regarded by themselves and by others as invincible, which had actually under arms a force of nearly 40,000 men, was to surrender without striking a blow the gains of brilliant victories, and was to abandon its position as a great power, in order to relapse into the dishonourable rôle of the furnisher of paid mercenaries, and without need was even to abandon a portion of its own territory, and all for a paltry million of gold. Francis I immediately ratified the treaty. Among the Confederates, feeling was divided. The Bernese, Fribourgers and Solothurn men in Domo d'Ossola at once accepted the peace. They were joined in this by the Valaisans, with whom Schinner, now almost always away from home, had lost all authority. The result was that from 12,000 to 14,000 men returned home over the Alps without awaiting the decision of the other Cantons.

The remaining Cantons vacillated. Owing to the unfortunate desertion of the men of Bern, Fribourg, Solothurn and the Valais,

many were of opinion that the only course open was to accept the peace, to which, however, the Forest Cantons were decisively opposed in view of the proposed surrender of the Italian bailiwicks and Domo d'Ossola. The war party received a powerful reinforcement in the person of Cardinal Schinner, who, after the retreat from Piedmont, had hastened to the Spanish and papal forces to urge them to an active participation in the war, and had at least succeeded in persuading them to advance to the Po. Upon hearing the unwelcome tidings of the peace of Gallarate he hastened to Monza in order to counteract the effect of the news upon the Confederate forces in this town. Unable to resist his stormy eloquence, they allowed him to lead them back to Milan. Simultaneously the king advanced towards the capital, and established his camp at Marignano (Melegnano), nine miles to the south-east of the capital, in order to get into touch with the Venetians who had advanced from the east under Alviano as far as Lodi, and in order to cut off the Spanish and papal army from the Swiss. The Swiss army in Milan, which still numbered over 20,000 men, now threatened to melt away altogether, since Zurich and Zug declared in favour of the acceptance of the peace and prepared to start homewards. When Schinner's eloquence could no longer prevail, he took refuge in cunning. On the morning of September 13th, 1515, he persuaded the captain of the ducal guard, Arnold von Winkelried, and some of the other captains, to undertake a skirmish with some French troopers who were riding round the town. As soon as the report was spread that the guard was engaged in battle, every soldier, as Schinner had expected, stood to arms. He himself, on horseback in his red cardinal's robes, led the way with a Milanese troop of cavalry. When the Swiss emerged from the gates it was true that there was nothing more to be seen of a fight, merely a distant glimpse of a few of the enemy's cavalry. But honour forbade their turning back, so the Swiss pushed onward, although it was already afternoon and the enemy's camp could only be reached by a march of several hours.

The French had not expected the attack, but they had neglected no precautions. The approach to their camp was rendered difficult by numerous water-dikes, and the French had made use of these for the fortification of their position, for Pedro of Navarre had thrown up earthworks with palisades behind the channels in order to cover the artillery which commanded the approaches. Behind these

fortifications the French were arranged in three sections: the advance-guard was at San Giuliano under Charles of Bourbon and Trivulzio; behind these at Zivido was the main body under the king himself; still further back at Santa Brigida, immediately before Marignano, was the rearguard under the duke of Alençon and La Palice. The king was just about to sit down to supper with Alviano when he heard of the Swiss advance. While Francis immediately despatched orders in all directions, the Venetian rode off to his army at Lodi, to bring it up as soon as possible. Hardly had Bourbon and Trivulzio drawn up the advance-guard at San Giuliano in battle array when the Swiss arrived in three columns. Their ranks were terribly thinned by the French artillery, but as men fell the others closed up and continued the impetuous advance. A section of lansquenets who were awaiting them in front of the dikes was dispersed, two deep channels were passed, the arquebusiers were driven out of the earthworks, a battery was taken, and the whole French front was driven back about a thousand paces. Now, however, the Swiss first encountered the centre of the hostile army. The king, burning with ambition and lust of battle, hurled himself upon them with his heavy cavalry and the best force of his lansquenets. A fierce struggle began. Now the Confederates pressed forward as far as the guns; now they gave way before the furious onslaught of the cuirassiers, until they could hold these in check once more with their pikes. When the sun set, the fighting was continued for some time by moonlight, but as the darkness increased the battle gave place to confused single conflicts. Towards midnight, when it became pitch dark, the struggle necessarily ceased. A report of a Swiss victory spread like the wind throughout Italy, but it was premature. All that the Swiss had effected was to capture the front portion of the hostile camp and a few pieces of artillery; the French had been merely pushed back, not defeated. Schinner advised a withdrawal to Milan, so that reinforcements might be collected for a decisive encounter. Instead of following this counsel the Confederates spent the cold September night upon the battlefield, hungry and shivering, for they had got wet through in crossing the dikes.

The king made a better use of the nocturnal pause than the Swiss. By trumpet signals he collected his forces in the rear portion of the camp, drew them up once more in columns and squadrons, sent the intact rearguard to the front and withdrew the threatened

artillery to new positions. At earliest dawn on September 14th the Swiss advanced with the same impetuosity as before. Although many files were mowed down by the French artillery, they made straight for the enemy's guns, and forced the Black Bands to retreat more than a hundred feet. But the French cavalry, by a fierce flank attack, secured breathing space for the French infantry. For a fresh onslaught, the Swiss divided themselves into two columns. One of these made a direct frontal attack upon the French main body, while the other, after a wide circuit, took the rear ranks of the enemy in the flank. Thus the fight went on in two distinct regions, the forces on both sides striving for victory to the utmost of their power. The arrival of the Venetians brought matters to an issue. Riding through Marignano with the Venetian advance-guard, Alviano encountered the French rearguard, which was retiring before the Swiss flank attack. Impetuously he hurled himself into the fray. The war-cry "San Marco, San Marco," gave new courage to the French, and their retreat was arrested. When the mass of the Venetian cavalry attacked the Swiss, these fell back upon their own main body. Now, despairing of victory, the Confederates took their wounded on their shoulders, placed their artillery in the centre of their force, and towards eleven o'clock withdrew defiantly and slowly, showing their teeth so fiercely to the enemy as to deprive them of any desire to follow up the retreating force. Only two troops, separated from the main body, were surrounded in a farm and were burned up with this.

The two days' battle of Marignano was the severest and bloodiest of all those fought in this struggle for Italy. According to Trivulzio, who had grown grey in war, it was a battle not of men but of giants, in comparison with which the eighteen other battles in which he had been engaged were all child's play; he did not doubt for a moment that but for the artillery the Swiss would have been victorious. Francis I had himself knighted on the field by Bayard, and had medals struck with the inscription "First Conqueror of the Helvetians." To the end of his life he regarded his victory over the Swiss as the greatest of his deeds, and by his orders, in the reliefs on his monument in the cathedral of St Denis, the different stages of the battle of Marignano were sculptured.

The Confederates, if they had saved their honour, had nevertheless suffered the greatest defeat recorded in all their history.

Sixteen thousand men lay dead on the battlefield, and more than half of these were Swiss. At Marignano it became manifest that their fashion of waging war was out of date. Against the one-sided cavalry tactics of the feudal age, their no less one-sided infantry tactics had secured the most brilliant successes. But when they had to encounter an enemy whose strength lay in the development and cooperation of all three arms, infantry, cavalry and artillery, their ultimate defeat was inevitable. However proudly they had held themselves in retreat, when they got back to Milan they gave way under the after-effects of their terrible losses. The very next day they set out for home, leaving a garrison in the citadel. The victory of Francis I completely changed the posture of affairs in Italy. Pope Leo X went openly over to the French; the Spaniards withdrew to Naples; Milan surrendered; and, although the citadel was regarded as impregnable and was valiantly defended by the Swiss garrison, on October 8th even duke Maximilian made his peace with the king, who promised him an easy life in France. On October 11th, Francis I made his triumphal entry into Milan. At the new year, after a meeting with the Pope at Bologna, he returned to France crowned with glory.

In Switzerland the bloody defeat had excited national sentiment to the utmost; and on September 24th the Diet unanimously resolved to undertake a new campaign in Lombardy. Now, however, the long-suppressed French party gathered force. Bern, Fribourg and Solothurn insisted upon the faithlessness of the allies and upon the fruitless prospects of a fresh struggle, while king Francis built a golden bridge for the Swiss by offering them, even after his victory, through the mediation of the duke of Savoy, a peace upon the terms of the treaty of Gallarate. For these reasons the campaign was abandoned; and on November 7th a treaty of peace and alliance with France was signed at Geneva, almost identical in its terms with that of Gallarate. Throughout the Confederation there now began a passionate party struggle between those who favoured and those who disapproved the peace of Geneva, and this culminated in a schism in the Confederacy. Eight Cantons, led by Bern and Lucerne, accepted the peace; five Cantons, Zurich, Uri, Schwyz, Basel and Schaffhausen, rejected it, and refused to bow to the will of the majority. Above all they refused to hear a word of the abandonment of their Italian bailiwicks and of their

mercenary alliance with France. While the eight assenting Cantons were already receiving their peace-payments and annual tribute from Francis I, and were sending him mercenaries, the five dissentient Cantons remained obstinately in a state of war with France.

The indefatigable Matthew Schinner had, after the defeat, hastened to Innsbruck to see Emperor Maximilian, to urge upon him a new campaign into Lombardy, and to forge a new coalition against France. Circumstances were favourable. More particularly, Henry VIII of England had been startled by the increase of power which accrued to France in consequence of the victory of Marignano. Although still in formal alliance with France, not only did he join the Emperor in a league against that country, but he also sent to the Swiss a skilful diplomatist, Richard Pace, in order to undermine the peace between Switzerland and France, and to offer the Swiss an alliance and monetary support. The peace of Geneva made the English alliance impossible; but the English gold, which reached the hands of Maximilian and the Swiss through the instrumentality of the Fuggers of Augsburg, had its due effect. The anti-French Cantons put 16,000 men into the field, and these marched by way of Chur to Trent in Italian Tirol, where the Emperor joined them with a considerable force of his own. In the spring of 1516, with an army of about 30,000 men, Maximilian started from Verona to cross the Mincio. The French and the Venetians retreated before him to Milan. The flagging courage of the French was indeed revived by the arrival of 10,000 Swiss mercenaries, chiefly from Bern and the Valais. Thus once again, as in the year 1500, Swiss were arrayed against Swiss in Lombardy. This time, however, those on the anti-French side stood firm. They declared to their countrymen in the hostile camp that it was their fixed resolve to take revenge for Marignano, and warn them against fighting on the side of the great enemy of their country. These admonitions were not without effect, and day by day numbers of Swiss deserted the French camp.

Schinner and the Swiss captains urged the Emperor to attack Milan, now that he was at the very gates of the city. But Maximilian, who here, as on other occasions, displayed a notable lack of resolution, threw away his chances of success. Whether it was that entirely without reason he feared his own Swiss would take him prisoner and deliver him over to the French, or because other influences were at work, in the beginning of April he ordered

a retreat which on military grounds was altogether inexplicable; and thereupon his army fell to pieces, his lansquenets saying that they would no longer serve "this king of straw and apples." The Swiss, abandoned by the Emperor, still remained for a while in Lombardy, and skirmished here and there with the French and the Venetians. But since they felt themselves betrayed and abandoned on all sides, and since the arrivals of the English pay proved very irregular, they returned home in the beginning of May. Thus ended in a lamentable fiasco this Swiss-Imperial campaign undertaken with the support of English money. Richard Pace, however, acting under instructions from Wolsey, endeavoured by the offer of subsidies and tribute to incite the Swiss to a new attack upon Lombardy; and in October, 1516, Cardinal Schinner travelled to Brussels and London in order to arrange for a general league against France, between Henry VIII, the Emperor, Charles of Spain, the Pope and the Swiss.

In order to separate the Swiss definitely from his opponents, Francis I in the end found it convenient to agree to terms of peace which would satisfy the five still recalcitrant Cantons. He renounced the alliance in accordance with which recruits had been promised him: abandoned to the Confederates the Italian bailiwicks; to the Grisons, the Valtelline, Bormio and Chiavenna; but Domo d'Ossola was already occupied by the French and was retained by them. On this basis, after their differences had lasted for a year, on November 29th, 1516, the Confederates were reconciled at Fribourg, and signed a "perpetual peace" with France. Francis I paid 700,000 crowns as war indemnity, 2000 gold francs as tribute to each of the thirteen Cantons, to the Valais, and to each of the three leagues in Raetia, and guaranteed the Confederates their ancient exemption from customs-dues, and the right to trade freely, in France and Milan; in return the Swiss definitively renounced all claim on Lombardy and gave a pledge not to support the enemies of France. But the anti-French party had anyhow secured this much, that the peace did not lead to an alliance.

Thus terminated the proudest period of Swiss history. It had been plainly manifest that, despite their strength in war, the Confederates completely lacked the qualities necessary to carry out the policy of a great power. Owing to the loose structure of their

federation of States, and the consequent lack of unanimity and stability in their resolves, the consistent pursuit of great aims was impossible. In addition they had to suffer for that ineradicable and insidious evil of venality, and for that meanness of spirit which was so widely diffused throughout the ruling classes of the country, who regarded war and politics simply as a means for personal gain. Richard Pace wrote to England that among the Swiss it was not reasons but money which determined the issue, and that anyone who appeared in their Diet without his pockets full of gold would fail to obtain a hearing.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal from Italy, the Confederacy was still generally regarded as possessed of a formidable strength, which the busy diplomacy of the day must always take into account. Thus in the spring of 1519 an Austro-Spanish embassy came to Zurich, in order to urge the Confederates to intervene in the dispute for the imperial crown which had arisen upon the death of Maximilian between Francis I of France and the Habsburger Charles, and in which Francis, who was favoured by the Pope, seemed at first to have the advantage. The appearance in Switzerland of the Habsburg embassy brought the French also upon the stage. That which so far as the Confederates were concerned decided the issue between the French money and that of the Austro-Spaniards was ultimately the interest of Switzerland, viz. the consideration that if France should add the German crown to the control of Lombardy, the French would surround the Swiss on three sides and endanger their independence. Their legal title to concern themselves about the imperial election was based upon the fact that formally Switzerland was still a member of the Holy Roman Empire. On April 4th, 1519, the Swiss Diet resolved to resist to the utmost the election of the king of France to the imperial dignity. They despatched three haughty messages: one to Francis I, giving him the injunction to abandon his designs upon the imperial throne, as otherwise the peace he had concluded with the Confederates would be annulled; the second to Pope Leo X; and the third to the Electors, who were warned to be on their guard lest the highest of honours should be diverted from the German nation to strangers. These despatches, wherein the Confederates openly threatened that in case of need they would oppose the election of Francis I by an appeal to arms, roused universal attention.

Perhaps even more effective was it that they renewed the perpetual convention entered into with Austria in 1511, and that they summoned home a force of 16,000 mercenaries who without official permission had entered the service of Ulrich, duke of Würtemberg, campaigning in the French interest against the Swabian league. They threatened that, if this injunction were disobeyed, it would be enforced by arms. The result was that duke Ulrich was suddenly abandoned by the mercenaries upon whose aid he had counted, and was compelled to retreat. Austria, on the other hand, was given full authority to direct against Frankfort, where the imperial election was to take place, the army of the Swabian league, which Austria was to use as its own. The proximity of this army decided the minds of the Electors; and on June 28th, 1519, Charles V was chosen Emperor. It was in no small part the work of the Swiss that the preponderance of power in Europe, which had seemed to be passing to the house of Valois now accrued to the house of Habsburg. It was their threatening veto, and their recall of the mercenaries from the service of duke Ulrich, which enabled Austria to exercise the necessary military pressure and to decide the imperial election in its own favour.

It was not surprising that Charles V hoped to gain the Swiss to his side in pursuit of further aims. On May 8th, 1521, he signed with the vacillating Pope Leo X an alliance which aimed at nothing less than the expulsion of the French from Italy. When an attempt was made to draw Henry VIII of England into this alliance, Charles V remarked that the secret of all secrets was to gain the Swiss at any cost, "since without them no one will be able to fight against us, for lack of the suitable soldiers." Similarly, in the treaty of alliance between the Emperor and the Pope we read: "And since it is of the utmost importance to utilise in this campaign the power and the hands of the Helvetians, which strongest of nations is so devoted to the Holy See and so friendly to the Imperial Majesty, it is hereby agreed between the two contracting parties that a force of 16,000 Swiss shall be recruited, and that a sum of 200,000 ducats shall be sent in payment of this force." The principal part of the work was to be assigned to the Swiss. While an imperial fleet was to make a descent upon Genoa and a Neapolitan and papal army was to appear upon the Po, the 16,000 Swiss were to take the bull by the horns and to drive the French out of Lombardy as in 1512.

But, while the Emperor and the Pope were thus already counting upon the Swiss pikes, the enemy was doing all he could to win the Swiss over to his side. And the enemy proved successful. On May 5th, 1521, almost on the very day on which the alliance was concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, a mercenary alliance was signed at Lucerne between Francis I and the Confederates, to endure for the life-time of the king and for three years thereafter. Should the king be attacked in his own territories, he could recruit a force in the Confederation, not smaller than 6000 nor larger than 16,000 men. Should the Confederates be attacked, the king must come to their aid by sending them at his own expense 200 lances and 12 guns, and must further provide them with a quarterly subsidy of 25,000 crowns. As long as the alliance lasted, the king was to pay to each Canton an annual pension of 3000 francs, and smaller sums to the "Allies" in proportion to the importance of each of them. Thus, after twelve years' estrangement, the alliance between France and Switzerland was renewed, and henceforward was for centuries to remain the basis of Swiss policy. The friends of France pointed out that the alliance could bring to Switzerland nothing but advantages and that it imposed no burdens, that the king received nothing in return for his annual tribute beyond the permission to recruit volunteers, while there was imposed upon him the duty of supporting the Confederation with cavalry, artillery and money. But the actual significance of the alliance of 1521 was that the Confederates "in return for monetary payments, devoted to the service of the French crown their arms and their strength, all the war forces through which they had gained renown." They renounced the great position among the powers of the world which they might have assumed had they continued to maintain the policy of the free hand, throwing their influence into the scale according as their own consideration and a recognition of their own advantage might dictate. The result of the alliance of 1521 was to reduce Switzerland to the position of the hired fighting-serf of France.

One only among the Cantons held obstinately aloof from this French alliance, suffering itself to be moved neither by the lure of French gold, nor yet by the urgent pleas and exhortations of the other Cantons. The recalcitrant Canton was Zurich, where the influence of the preaching of Ulrich Zwingli was already making itself felt.

BOOK II

REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION 1519–1648

CHAPTER V

ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITIONS PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION

While the Popes, in their position of Italian territorial princes, found it necessary, like other monarchs, to secure the help of the Confederates in war by the payment of annual allowances and by gifts, they understood very well how to make the Swiss, as they made other nations, tributary to themselves in manifold ways. Bishops and abbots were forced to purchase the confirmation of their election in Rome by the payment of sums varying from hundreds to thousands of gold gulden. From the other benefices ranging down to an annual income of 24 ducats the Curia received the so-called annates or the first year's fruits. All ecclesiastical offices which became vacant in the unequal months were at the disposal of the Apostolic Chair, regardless of the claims of chapters, convents and patrons; and with these reserved offices the Curia practised all kinds of jobbery. In Switzerland it was not infrequent for officers and soldiers of the papal guard to be paid with ecclesiastical benefices, which they then sold to ecclesiastics, sometimes selling positions that were not vacant. Then the "benefice-hunters" or "courtiers," armed with the authority of papal bulls, endeavoured to dispossess the rightful holders, threatening to summon them before the ecclesiastical courts, and usually succeeding at least in securing blackmail. Since this traffic became continually more scandalous, in the year 1520 the Swiss Diet adopted the vigorous resolution that in future they would put all such "Roman knaves" in a sack and drown them. An additional means by which the Curia netted large sums of money was the traffic in dispensations and other ecclesiastical privileges. The papal legates visiting

Switzerland to form alliances or raise recruits were empowered to release from oaths and vows, to grant dispensations from the ecclesiastical marriage, prohibitions to mitigate the severity of fasts, to grant titles of nobility and doctorates, to create counts palatine—of course in all cases for a monetary consideration. The well-known trade in indulgences was also carried on in Switzerland. In the year 1519 a Milanese monk named Samson went through the country, rivalling in shameless venality the renowned indulgence-monger Tetzel, until ultimately he received orders from the Diet to quit the country.

The Swiss ecclesiastical areas were distributed in such a way that almost all the dioceses included both Swiss and foreign territory. The largest bishopric was that of Constance, which embraced on the farther side of the Rhine and the lake a considerable portion of modern Würtemberg, Baden and Bavaria; while on the hither side it comprised the whole of north-eastern Switzerland as far as the Aar and the Devil's Bridge. The bishopric of Coire included, in addition to the Grisons and the Ursernthal, the southern part of the Canton of St Gall, the Vorarlberg and the Tirolese Vintschgau; the bishopric of Basel comprised the region north-westward from the Aar below Solothurn, together with the Sundgau in Alsace; the bishopric of Lausanne included the whole area on the left bank of the Aar above Solothurn so far as the Neuchâtel and Vaudois Jura; the bishopric of Geneva comprised the south-western corner of Vaud, the Pays de Gex and part of Savoy; the bishopric of Sion included the Valais and the eastern part of the Chablais in Savoy. In the Italian bailiwicks the dioceses of two Italian princes of the Church extended into Switzerland: the northern portion belonging to the archbishopric of Milan; and the southern, as well as Chiavenna, the Valtelline and Bormio, to the bishopric of Como. The importance of these bishops was all the greater in that, in addition to their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, they all possessed more or less extensive temporal powers. Thus, for example, the bishop of Constance had a number of jurisdictions in Thurgau and Aargau, with the towns of Arbon, Bischofzell, Klingnau, Zurzach and Kaiserstuhl, for which he had to recognise the suzerainty of the Confederates. The bishop of Chur was feudal lord of the League of God's House; the bishop of Basel was nominal overlord of the town and territory of Basel and of the town of Bienne, and actual lord of the present Bernese Jura; the bishop of Sion was count and

prefect of the Valais; the bishop of Geneva was feudal lord of that town and of certain castles and villages in the vicinity; the bishop of Lausanne was lord of the town of Lausanne and of various outlying bits of the parts of Vaud which at that time were still under the dominion of Savoy. All these bishops ranked as princes of the Empire and held ecclesiastical courts of justice.

By far the most distinguished prince of the Church in Switzerland immediately before the Reformation was Cardinal Matthew Schinner, who in 1521, after the death of Leo X, missed election to the papacy by no more than one or two votes. In his figure is most strikingly displayed the secularisation of the Church. Schinner had nothing of the ecclesiastic about him except the dress. Just as his master Julius II had mounted town walls by scaling-ladders in person, so Schinner, clad in his red cardinal's robes, led the Swiss army into battle. His whole life was devoted to diplomatic intrigue, which estranged him from his home; and he resided almost continually at foreign courts or in military camps. He was finally driven from the Valais in 1517 by the armed force of his opponent, Supersaxo. Vainly did he secure in Rome ban and interdict, and from the Emperor ban and double ban, against his country. While to the end of his life he remained the irreconcilable enemy of France, in his own home, the Valais, the French party was dominant. He died of plague in Rome on September 20th, 1522.

In Geneva, since 1513, the episcopal see had been occupied by John, a bastard of the ducal house of Savoy, a servile tool to carry out the plans of his house against Geneva. To characterise the bishop of Lausanne, Aymo of Montfaucon, it will suffice to recall that, as a paid agent of the French, he absolved the Bernese from their oath against pensions and bounties. His nephew and successor, Sebastian of Montfaucon, wounded an official of the town of Lausanne by throwing a stone at him. The bishop of Chur, Paul Ziegler, chose his mistresses from the nunneries of his diocese. The bishop of Constance, Hugo of Hohenlandenberg, derived a rich income from the concubinage practised by his priests, raising the penalty payable for every priest's child from four gulden to five. The purest character among the Swiss bishops was that of Christopher of Uttenheim, bishop of Basel, who honestly endeavoured to secure better discipline in his bishopric, which had been formerly reckoned the liveliest in the great "priests' alley" of the Rhine. But his very

edicts bear eloquent testimony to the moral depravity of the Swiss clergy. He found it necessary to exhort the ecclesiastics of his diocese not to follow the example of most other priests, not to curl their hair with curling-tongs, not to carry on trade in the churches or to raise a disturbance there, not to keep drinking booths or engage in horse-dealing, and not to buy stolen property. What sort of men must these clergy have been when the bishop found it necessary to issue the following warning?

> Whereas we learn, not without grave displeasure, that the majority of the priests of our city and diocese, when they are summoned to the funerals of nobles and other persons in order to hold divine service, conduct themselves improperly by gaming and drinking, so that many of them sit and gamble all night, whilst others vomit in consequence of gluttony and drunkenness, sleep all night on the benches, and are guilty of other gross misconduct, we hereby issue the strictest commands that all clerics summoned on these occasions shall at no time whatever play at dice or cards or disgrace themselves in other ways, and especially that they shall not misbehave themselves in the taverns and rooms of the laity.

The case of the "religious" was no better than that of the secular priests. The time had long since passed away in which the monasteries had been the principal seats of learning and centres of culture. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, Poggio, the Italian Humanist, had discovered in a dark vault in one of the towers of the once celebrated abbey of St Gall mouldering manuscripts of the ancient classics. There is almost nothing to report of literary, scientific, or artistic, activities in the Swiss monasteries of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century; but many of them were schools of immorality and of the grossest superstition.

The two powerful mendicant orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans were fiercely at war concerning the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; and the Dominicans endeavoured to secure the victory by a miracle. The priory of Bern was regarded as a suitable place, since the prior was of opinion that the Bernese were simple and rough, but were valiant in case of need to defend the credit of the miracle with the sword. An apt tool was found in Jetzer, a journeyman-tailor, twenty-three years of age, who, in 1507, wished to be received into the monastery. He was a youth of limited intelligence, and, after his imagination had been alarmed and heated by all kinds of vain fables, the Blessed Virgin appeared to him in

person on several occasions and revealed to him that the Dominicans were right in every respect. To confirm the miracle, she impressed him with the stigmata. The report of the wonder spread through the town. The populace flocked to the Dominican church and beheld the stigmatised young man stretched out before the altar in horrible convulsions, which were explained by the monks as a reproduction of the passion of Christ, while at other times he was seen motionless before an image of the Virgin, which was reported to speak, and to weep tears of blood. The Council of Bern was incredulous, and determined to probe the matter to the bottom. Jetzer, and ultimately the prior, were arrested; and the examination, in which the use of the rack was not spared, threw a partial light upon the criminal trickery. Jetzer and the monks mutually accused one another of fraud. Ultimately four monks, the prior, the sub-prior, the reader, and the steward were tried by an ecclesiastical court which Pope Julius II nominated at the instance of the powerful Swiss town. The judges were the three bishops, Aymo of Lausanne, Matthew Schinner of Sion, and Achilles de Grassis of Castello; and on May 23rd, 1509, they condemned the accused to death by fire.

Never since the origin of the leagues had the Confederates taken their stand upon the ground of the priestly system, which since the days of Gregory VII the Catholic Church had endeavoured to instal in the west. Instead of admitting the supremacy of the Church over the State, which was declared by Rome to exist, they had repeatedly endeavoured to establish firm boundaries between the temporal and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions. In their first common confederate law, the so-called *Pfaffenbrief* (Parsons' Ordinance) of 1370, they had established on a legal basis the supremacy of the State over the clergy, and had imposed strict limits upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction; since when they had continually practised, with increasing firmness, a right of supervision and reform over the ecclesiastical institutions of their domains, had restricted the expansion of ecclesiastical territory, had taxed church property, and so on. They adhered nevertheless to the principle of the ancient Church, which for them, as for all the world, was despite its faults the necessary instrument of salvation. But in the uneasiness that was the inevitable result of the contrast between the exaggerated claims of the Church and its profoundly depraved actual condition,

in the generally diffused feeling that the Church was degenerate, and not least in the State's own sense of power and the State's desire to reform where the Church herself would not undertake reform, there was heaped up a mass of combustible material needing merely to be fired by the ideas of the Reformation in order in an instant to burst into flame.

CHAPTER VI

ULRICH ZWINGLI AND THE REFORMATION IN ZURICH

Just as the German Reformation is incorporated in Luther, so is the Swiss Reformation incorporated in Ulrich Zwingli, the founder of the Swiss Protestant Church. Zwingli was born on New Year's day, 1484, seven weeks after Luther, at Wildhaus, the highest village in the Toggenburg, a charming valley of the lower Alps, in the principality of the abbot of St Gall. The house in which he was born still exists, and is to-day the property of the Swiss Protestant Church. Zwingli's father was the *Ammann* (headman) and his uncle, Bartholomew Zwingli, the priest of the village; subsequently the latter became rural dean of Weesen on the lake of Wallenstadt. Ulrich, the third of eight sons, was destined for the Church, and his uncle, who supervised his education, sent him to the best schools which then existed in Switzerland. At the age of fifteen he went to the university of Vienna, which of all universities on this side of the Alps had opened its doors widest to the new spirit of Humanism. Subsequently he went on to the university of Basel, where he became a Master of Arts and also worked as teacher in a school. In 1506, when he was twenty-two years of age, the parish of Glarus appointed him its priest.

That which from the first distinguished the young priest of Glarus from the mass of clerics was his insatiable impulse for further intellectual development and for truth. By laborious private study he acquired a knowledge of Greek, a language then little known north of the Alps, and plunged into the world of the ancients, which he found an inexhaustible source of instruction, aesthetic pleasure and moral elevation. Simultaneously, however, he felt the need of examining the foundations of his creed. He found no contradiction between the study of Holy Writ and that of the ancient pagan classics. "I had," he once wrote, "many teachers in the sacred sciences, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans; how badly should I behave if I proved ungrateful to any of those who opened to me access to the truth." Thus he boldly ignored the Church doctrine in accord-

ance with which all pagans were damned; in one of his last writings he expresses the confident hope that he will find the pious Greeks and Romans in the fields of the blessed. Thus in Zwingli's circle of ideas the classical and the Christian world united to form one characteristic whole; as a friend said of him, he was at once a priest of the Muses and a priest of Christ. The assiduous studies of the priest of Glarus did not pass unnoticed. He was on terms of intimate friendship with the two most prominent Humanists of Switzerland—Loriti of Glarus, known as Glareanus, then resident in Basel and Joachim von Watt, named Vadianus, at that time living in Vienna. Even the prince of Humanism, Erasmus of Rotterdam, had his attention directed to Zwingli, and exchanged letters with him. Zwingli, however, was not born to lead the quiet life of a student. "Study," he says, "must bear fruit in acts to promote the happiness of humanity." In Glarus he prepared capable youths for the university, and in this way awakened an intellectual activity hitherto unknown in that mountain valley. But above all, for weal and for woe, he took a lively share in the life of his people.

The reforming activity of Zwingli sprang from his ardent love for his country; and this has with justice been recognised the principal distinction between Zwingli and Luther. In all things Zwingli felt himself to be a Swiss and a republican. He was proud of the freedom of his country, which was advantageous also to foreigners. "Those who are wrongfully oppressed in foreign lands come to Switzerland as to a city of refuge." Just as Zwingli was the first writer to refer to Switzerland as an asylum for refugees, so also was he the first to give literary expression to the republican form of the Swiss State. "Servile souls," he writes, "who have never realised what freedom is, overwhelm the Caesars with praises, and admire their own destroyer as the hedge-sparrow admires the cuckoo." But with his republican pride was intermingled a sentiment of wrathful regret concerning the shameful rôle which his people was playing in the world, in mercenary military service.

It is distinctive of Zwingli that his first writings were not religious but political. In 1510 he composed the rhymed vernacular poem of *The Ox and the Other Beasts*, which expounded in a luminous allegory the incompatibility of foreign military service and tribute with the moral well-being and freedom of the Swiss people. He regarded France as the principal seducer in this respect, and he

therefore gladly hailed the breach with Louis XII and the alliance effected by Schinner between Switzerland and Julius II. The young priest was at that time still imbued with papal sentiments, and he regarded an alliance with the "Shepherd" of Christendom in a very different light from the mercenary league with the "Leopard" of France. He fully sympathised, too, with the Confederate campaigns in Lombardy, directed against French dominion. In a description of the Pavian campaign of 1512, in which he probably took part as military chaplain, he loudly acclaimed his admiration for the proud position which the Swiss had won as saviours of the endangered ship of St Peter and as liberators of Italy, the mother of the arts and the sciences. Zwingli was also an eye-witness of the disaster of Marignano; vainly, a week before the battle, in the square at Monza, had he preached harmony to the Confederates. When, after the defeat, a number of Cantons were ready, not merely to make peace with France, but to conclude a mercenary alliance with that country, Zwingli threw himself into the party struggle, and sought to persuade Glarus against joining in such a peace. His efforts were vain, for Glarus was one of the Cantons that went over bag and baggage into the French camp. This moved Zwingli in 1516 to enter the monastery of Einsiedeln as secular priest. The parish of Glarus was loath to part with him and would consent only to give him three years' leave.

In the monastery of Einsiedeln, Zwingli had leisure for the enlargement of his religious and scientific knowledge. Erasmus, in particular, exercised a notable influence upon him. The most important gift he owed to Erasmus was the Greek Testament published in 1516, and the possibility this afforded of an independent study of Holy Scripture. At this time he also acquired a knowledge of Hebrew; and the remarkable differences which he found to exist between the primitive text of Holy Writ and the ecclesiastically sanctioned Latin translation, the Vulgate, had no small share in undermining his faith. According to Zwingli's own testimony and that of his friend Capito, the Strassburg Reformer, it was while Zwingli was still at Einsiedeln, and before the world had heard anything of Luther, that in his heart he had already broken loose from the existing ecclesiastical system, without however showing any outward manifestation of this separation; with Erasmus and thousands of others he still hoped for reform from

above. At that much-frequented place of pilgrimage he acquired the reputation of a distinguished and talented preacher. The town of Winterthur offered him a position, but he refused the offer on the ground that he still belonged to Glarus. Ultimately, he decided not to return to Glarus when the prospect opened of work in Zurich, the leading Canton in the Confederation. On December 11th, 1518, the Chapter of the Grossmünster in Zurich appointed him its parish priest, and he entered on his new office on New Year's day, 1519, with resolves which made him one of the Reformers.

If the German Reformation is considered to begin with the public demonstration of Luther against indulgences, on October 31st, 1517, we must date the Swiss Reformation from New Year's day, 1519, when the Protestant preaching of Zwingli was begun. At his first reception by the Chapter, he declared it to be his intention to expound the whole Gospel of Matthew, not in accordance with human reason, but in accordance with the spirit and sense of the text, to which he hoped to attain by diligent study and heartfelt prayer. It was a bold innovation. Since the fifth century, the Church had selected special sections of the Bible for the different Sundays and Feast days, the so-called "pericopes," which the sermon of the day must comment. This ordinance was now transgressed by Zwingli's plan to give to the people a connected view of Holy Writ; and, when he declared that in his exposition he was not going to keep to the interpretation of the Church, but to the sense of the texts that he obtained by his own private study, this implied nothing less than that which Luther proclaimed six months later at the Leipzig disputation, the exclusive recognition of the authority of Holy Writ, the great instrument of Protestant warfare. The older members of the Chapter received Zwingli's declaration with uneasiness, and declared themselves opposed to the innovation, but Zwingli would not yield to any protests.

On New Year's day, 1519, he began with an exposition of the Gospel of Matthew. After he had acquainted the congregation with the life and teachings of Jesus as portrayed in the Gospels, he went on to give a description of the primitive Church, based upon the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul. In the year 1525 he had completed his exposition of all the books of the New Testament, and he thereupon turned his consideration to expounding the first book of the Pentateuch.

The impression produced by the sermons of the secular priest of the Grossmünster was overwhelming. The young Valaisan, Thomas Platter, when listening to one of Zwingli's sermons, felt as if he were being pulled up by the hair of his head. "His eloquence," says Kessler of St Gall, "was true, pure, reasonable, free from theatricality, thoroughly straightforward and comprehensible to all; there was nothing underhand about it, but it was living, and went somehow with a loving energy to the hearer's heart." In addition there was the stimulus of novelty. The Bible was not at that time generally in the hands of the people, although there were not lacking German translations of the Vulgate; and consequently the greatest interest was aroused by these expositions of Holy Writ, regarded as an infallible authority, expositions given by the most learned priest in the Confederation from a point of view altogether different from that of the ordinary priest. With a frankness hitherto unknown, Zwingli deduced from the word of God the practical consequences for State and Church, for public and private life. While he rejected for the priest all external power, and would not even admit that he possessed the right of excommunication, he insisted that the priest must make use of the one right he really did possess, the right of free speech, that fearing no man he should employ that right in the service of truth and justice, and that he should be for his people that which the prophets of Israel had been, and that which had also been the tribunes of ancient Rome—the embodiment of the public conscience.

Zwingli did not hesitate to discuss in the pulpit the troubles of the country. Their forefathers, he said, had not killed Christian people for pay, but had fought solely for liberty and fatherland; for this reason God had given them the victory, for God favours liberty. He demanded that there should be on principle an abstention from all mercenary alliances and service of foreign lords; he insisted that mercenary service and pensions should be strictly forbidden; and he had the gratification to find that in 1521 Zurich held aloof from the alliance with Francis I (p. 62). When pressure was exercised by the other Cantons, and the Council asked the town guilds and the rural communes for their opinion, the answer was that they desired to be "neither French nor imperial, but simply good Zurichers and Confederates," so that the government could in this matter count upon the support of the people.

Zwingli unflaggingly endeavoured to secure the acceptance of his ethical principle throughout the Confederation. On April 27th, 1522, during the war between Charles V and Francis I, the Swiss mercenaries in French service, in a rash attempt to storm the entrenched imperial camp at Bicocca, not far from Milan, sustained a sanguinary defeat. The battle of Bicocca showed even more plainly than that of Marignano that the Swiss art of war had passed its zenith. At home there arose lamentations from the widows and orphans of the slain, and brought about so powerful a reaction against the French alliance that this was in danger of being broken. In Schwyz, in particular, a movement was initiated which aimed at following the example of Zurich. To further this movement Zwingli published his *Godly Exhortation to the oldest Confederates in Schwyz, that they should guard against serving foreign masters*, which is one of the noblest monuments of his patriotic sentiments. The democratic assembly of Schwyz did actually determine to renounce for twenty-five years all foreign alliances and pensions. Less than six months later, however, the pensioners and mercenaries of the Canton succeeded in securing the reversal of this decision; and Schwyz was henceforward one of the bitterest opponents of the Reformer.

It was the same courageous loyalty to his convictions which impelled Zwingli to raise his voice against the ancient Church, which had become petrified in external pomp, in the belief in the sanctity of good works, in the veneration of images and of relics. His appearance in Zurich as a reformer of the Church was an original movement and independent of Luther. When he began his Protestant preaching he knew no more of Luther than did the rest of the world, namely Luther's attack upon one single evil, the traffic in indulgences. In the course of the eventful year, 1519, the name of Luther did indeed acquire in Switzerland, as elsewhere, a more powerful significance. Zwingli rejoiced to find again in the writings of the mighty Wittenberger confirmation of that to which he had himself attained by severe mental labour, and was thereby encouraged to make further advances on his own account. How boldly he attacked the existing ecclesiastical system is proved by complaints which, during the years 1520 and 1521, Hofmann, a canon firm in the old orthodoxy, drew up against his teaching. We learn that Zwingli spoke of the theologians and schoolmen,

commonly regarded as authoritative, as mad visionaries; he despised the religious orders; undisturbed by councils, popes and bishops, he declared traditional dogmas and ordinances to be useless, foolish and devoid of force; regarded as untrustworthy the legends of the saints that were recognised by the Church; said that in Holy Writ there was no proof of purgatory nor yet of the intercession of the saints; rejected excommunication; and put forward new doctrines concerning faith and morals.

It is therefore all the more remarkable that the Roman Curia, whose representatives were during these years frequently in Zurich, left Zwingli, in contradistinction to Luther, altogether undisturbed. For a considerable period Rome continued to regard her relations to Switzerland from a purely political outlook. Rome was then in opposition to France. Zurich was the one Swiss town which would not allow itself to be enmeshed by France, and the secular priest of the Grossmünster strengthened the town in this policy. For this reason Zurich and Zwingli were in Rome regarded as her allies when the town had already completely fallen away from the Catholic Church. The free views of the priest of the Grossmünster were ignored, especially since he at first expressed them only in his sermons, and did not commit them to print. So late as January, 1523, immediately before the first disputation of Zurich, Pope Adrian gave the nuncio Ennio Filonardi a letter of recommendation to Zwingli, in which it was stated that the Pope had especial confidence in Zwingli, and would favour his honour and advantage in every possible way if he would give the nuncio all the assistance in his power.

Meanwhile, however, the preaching of Zwingli had led to its first practical consequences. In Lent, 1522, certain priests and burghers, and among them the printer Froschauer, deliberately and publicly transgressed the ordinances about fasting by eating meat, and when called to account they appealed to Zwingli. He took the responsibility upon his own shoulders, and in the pulpit proved from the Gospels the nullity of the whole system of external ordinances. While the Council still hesitated over its decision, there ensued the first intervention of Zwingli's ecclesiastical superior, the bishop of Constance. In a pastoral he ordered the observance of the ancient customs; and on April 7th, 1522, an episcopal embassy came to Zurich in order to complain of the noxious doctrines

that were being preached in the town. Although Zwingli was not expressly mentioned, he was well aware that it was against him that the complaint was levelled; and in the Great Council he defended his side of the case against the episcopal embassy so effectually that those who had broken their fast got off with a trifling punishment. Since the dispute about fasting attracted attention far beyond the boundaries of Zurich, in April, 1522, Zwingli issued his first printed work on behalf of Reform, *Of the Selection and Free Use of Food*; and this work contains a summary statement of his general ideas on the subject of Reform.

The bishop, or rather his Vicar-General, Faber, the real ruler at the palace of Constance, issued a fresh admonition to Zurich, to the effect that the wiles and snares of the devil must be withstood by the immediate suppression of the heretical preaching. He also applied to the Swiss Diet, which issued a warning to the several Cantons to put an end to such preaching as might lead to "errors in the Christian faith." But Zwingli met the storm fearlessly. Upon his initiative, in July, 1522, ten priests sent a signed petition to the bishop of Constance and to the Swiss Diet on behalf of the unrestricted preaching of the Gospel and of the marriage of priests. At the same time Zwingli completed his breach with the institution of clerical celibacy by a quiet marriage with Anna Reinhard, the widow of the noble Hans Meyer von Knonau. Further, in answer to the episcopal complaints, he published a Latin polemical writing, *Archeteles* (*i.e.* the beginning and the end), in which the person of the bishop was treated with respect, but in which all the writings published in his name were subjected to a pitiless criticism by Bible tests.

> I will try everything by the touchstone of the Gospel and by the fire of the apostle Paul. What agrees therewith, to that I shall hold fast, what conflicts therewith I shall reject, notwithstanding all the hubbub that is made by those who may feel themselves aggrieved by this maxim. Upon the ground of Holy Writ, in a public meeting, where Holy Writ alone and not human teaching shall be the deciding factor, shall you dispute with me, and we must oppose one another eye to eye, and not simply from afar.

The question now was how the secular authorities would act towards the movement, whether they would follow the example of the Emperor and the Empire which at Worms had condemned and

outlawed Luther. It seemed that the Confederation as a whole desired to adopt a similar course. In December, 1522, the Swiss Diet repeated its demand to the several Cantons that they should suppress this novel teaching, and warned Zurich and Basel in particular against tolerating any longer the printing of "such novel booklets." Further, a certain pastor named Urban Weiss at Fislisbach in the County of Baden, who had preached in a similar sense to Zwingli and had married, was handed over by them to the bishop of Constance for punishment.

In the central regions of Switzerland the latter half of the year 1522 proved decisive for the future of the Church. Lucerne placed itself resolutely at the head of the campaign against the "Lutheran and Zwinglian heresy." All the priests and teachers inclined to the Reformation were deprived of their positions and were forced to leave the Canton. An energetic hunt was made for heretical books. By the end of 1522 the Canton of Lucerne was cleansed of the suspicious elements. Similar was the course of affairs in Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug and Fribourg. The monastery of Einsiedeln alone made an exception for a time; notwithstanding repeated threats on the part of the Schwyzer overlords, the "Administrator" of the monastery, Diebold von Geroldseck, who was a friend of Zwingli, continued to offer an asylum to the new gospel.

While the majority of the Confederates for a long time regarded the religious innovations as a matter for condemnation and punishment, Zurich followed the opposite course. Instead of taking proceedings against Zwingli, the Council adopted the idea expressed by the Reformer in his *Archeteles*, that the dispute in the Church should be decided in a public religious debate. On January 3rd, 1523, the Great Council issued a circular letter to all the priests of the town and country districts of Zurich to the effect that, since there had been much dissension among the preachers, for some were trying to preach the Gospel while others were calling them false teachers and heretics for doing so, all priests were to assemble on January 29th at the town hall, and before the assembled Council were to defend their views with the aid of Holy Writ. An invitation was sent also to the bishop of Constance and to all the Cantons, asking them to send learned men to participate in the debate.

The mere proposal to hold this disputation signified essentially

a victory for Zwingli. By bringing up this question of faith before its own forum the Council of Zurich was abandoning the Catholic view, in accordance with which the decision in all matters of dogma was the prerogative either of the Pope, or else of an assembly of "common Christendom"—a matter for a general council and not for any individual district. By this action Zurich to some extent adopted the conception of the Church to which Zwingli had attained.

To the powerful organism of the Catholic hierarchy with its monarchical supreme head and its episcopal aristocracy, Zwingli opposed the democratic Church of primitive Christianity. His idea of the Church was a double one. First of all the Church is the community of all on earth who hold the Christian faith, unified only through the Spirit; this is the invisible Church, which has but one head, Christ, and one law, the word of God, the true *ecclesia catholica*. Over against this invisible and world-embracing community there stands the Church in the narrower sense, the visible community of those who come together in order to join in hearing the word of God, the parish or congregation. So many congregations, so many Churches are there in the world, and all possess equal rights. The Roman Church is no more than one among many, and has no more right to dictate laws to the others than has the Church of Zurich or that of Appenzell. For all these Churches there is but one binding authority, the word of God, which is in itself clear and certain. In all external things every Church is free to arrange its own affairs as it pleases. The right of decision is vested in all the members of the congregation; there exists no distinction between priest and layman. Thus, for Zwingli the officials of the Church, as of the State, are the people. Essentially, State and Church are merely two sides of one and the same popular community. Consequently, Zwingli did not hesitate to entrust the decision in matters of faith to the political authorities, provided that all that is done receives the express or tacit approval of the congregation.

It was a step of extreme historical importance when the community of Zurich, regardless of councils, of Pope, and of bishop, vindicated its right to make its future ecclesiastical constitution depend upon the result of a debate concerning matters of faith to be conducted within the walls of the town, a debate in which an appeal to Holy Writ was to be the sole deciding factor. Whether or not the Confederates recognised the full bearing of this step, they

forbade, with but few exceptions, participation in the disputation. The court of the bishop of Constance was in a quandary. On the one hand it was regarded as unseemly to take part in the debate; but on the other hand it seemed a very serious matter to leave the principal town in the bishopric and in the Confederation altogether to its own devices. It was therefore decided to send a delegation, headed by the Vicar-General Faber, not so much in order to dispute, as to give advice, that is to exercise the office of judges.

At the disputation, Zwingli published sixty-seven articles or "conclusions" (*Schlussreden*). These sixty-seven articles were not directed merely against particular abuses, as had been the celebrated utterance of Luther against indulgences, but against the whole structure of the Catholic Church, opposing thereto a new and scriptural edifice. An examination of these articles suffices to show that Zwingli had already thought out in all its parts the new structure which it was his intention to build. In the belief in Christ lies all salvation. Christ is the sole mediator between God and man, the one and only high-priest. Those who offer themselves in His place as high priests injure the honour and the dignity of Christ. He sacrificed Himself for us once for all; He is the sacrifice for all the faithful, which prevails to the end of time. Consequently the mass is not a sacrifice, but merely commemorates the sacrifice. We find justification in Christ and not in works. Therewith falls the whole Roman priestly Church, with its claim to stand between God and man, with all its institutions for procuring salvation. Therewith fall the papacy, the mass, the invocation of saints, fasts, pilgrimages, monastic orders, priestly vows, excommunication, indulgences, and purgatory, since all conflict with the Gospels.

On January 29th, 1523, at an early hour in the morning, all the priests of the Canton, the councillors and the burghers, or as many of them as the town-hall could hold, flocked thither. Zwingli sat in the middle, at a table of his own, on which lay open Latin, Greek and Hebrew Bibles. Röist, the burgomaster, opened the meeting by greeting the bishop's delegation, and by then asking everyone who wished to lodge complaints against Zwingli and his doctrines to speak freely. Thereupon Zwingli rose to his feet, declaring himself ready to answer everyone who considered his preaching and doctrine to be anti-Christian and heretical: "now is the time, here stand I in God's name!" Thereupon the Vicar-

General Faber rose to his feet, but only to announce that he had not come in order to dispute, and to inquire whether he was expected to discuss before workmen questions which belonged to the universities of Paris and Cologne, and which were to come before a future General Council. Zwingli made answer that the infallible and perfectly impartial judge was Holy Writ; this judge was here present in Hebrew, Greek and Latin; there were plenty of learned men in Zurich who understood these languages just as well as anyone in Paris or Cologne. Thrice he challenged his opponent and thrice silence was the only answer he received. Thereupon Abbot Wolfgang Joner of Kappel, a friend of Zwingli's, called out: "Where now are those who wish to burn us and who bring wood for the purpose? Why do they not stand forth?" A rural priest now reminded the assembly of the pastor of Fislisbach, who was then imprisoned at Constance; why should he be kept in prison if no one had a word to say against his teaching? Faber had now perforce to answer, and described the prisoner as an ignorant man whom Faber had himself convicted of error out of Holy Writ. Zwingli immediately demanded chapter and verse and thus drove the Vicar-General into a corner. Faber endeavoured to help himself by an appeal to ecclesiastical antiquity, to Popes, and to councils, but made very little impression with these arguments. Burgomaster Röist said mockingly: "He can't produce the pike with which the priest of Fislisbach was run through!" Moreover, Faber remained almost the only one who spoke against Zwingli; of those in Zurich who held to the old faith none ventured to measure themselves against him. On the other hand, Leo Judä, the priest of St Peter's, and others joined him in the lists.

The conference was adjourned till the afternoon; only the Great Council remained in order to come to some decision. In the afternoon this decision was announced to the assembly. Master Zwingli was to continue to preach the Gospel as he had done before and until he knew a better way; and in like manner the other preachers should expound to their congregations nothing which they could not prove out of Holy Writ. Zwingli broke out into loud rejoicings, saying: "Praise be to God, whose will it is that His Holy Word shall prevail in Heaven and upon Earth!" He had gained a great victory, which was rendered even more complete by Faber's imprudence. Put out of temper by the decision of the Council, he

undertook to prove in speech and writing that Zwingli's articles were in conflict with Holy Writ, but was unable to establish his case, and, being altogether overpowered by his opponent, took refuge in all kinds of sophisms. The general impression was that the bishop's commissioner had been lamentably beaten, while Zwingli had brilliantly justified his position. This impression of Zwingli's victory was strengthened when he published his *Exposition and Foundation of the Articles*, the most notable among his German writings on behalf of Reform, which, as the bishop of Constance bore witness, contained "all kinds of erroneous and noxious doctrines."

Whilst Zwingli now became the recognised leader of the Swiss Reformation, the arrival of Ulrich von Hutten, the knight who had been outlawed in Germany, led to a complete breach between Zwingli and his Humanist friends in Basel. The unfortunate von Hutten had reached Basel extremely ill and totally unprovided with money. Erasmus, who had formerly been on terms of intimate friendship with him, would now have nothing to do with him, and the Cantonal Council of Basel expelled him from the town. In June, 1523, Hutten came to Zurich; and Zwingli nobly did his best for the sick companion-at-arms of Luther and Sickingen. He sent him for the benefit of his health to the healing springs of Pfäffers, and since this proved fruitless he procured for him an asylum on the lake of Zurich, on the pretty little island of Ufenau, which belonged to the monastery of Einsiedeln. Here Hutten could die in peace. This care for the talented writer on the freedom and unity of Germany who had been expelled from his own fatherland cost Zwingli the friendship of Erasmus. Erasmus considered Zwingli as responsible for the appearance of Hutten's last polemical writing, directed against his former friend; and, when Erasmus issued an answer to Hutten, he prefixed to it an ironical dedication to Zwingli which signified an open breach with the Swiss Reformer. The intimate interchange of letters between Glareanus and Zwingli was now also broken off.

No doubt the breach between Zwingli and the Erasmians was inevitable, altogether apart from the Hutten affair. Erasmus had desired a refined and decent Reformation from above, but now the Reformation had been initiated by vigorous pressure from below. He had wished for a Reformation, but there had come a Revolution

which shook the whole established order. It would be unjust to condemn Erasmus and all the noble spirits who, notwithstanding their insight into the misdeeds of the Church, became anxious when the stormy movement of the masses began. It is the lot of all such middle parties that history, which moves forward by a series of conflicts, marches over them, and that men with energetic combative natures displace them from the leadership of great movements.

With the disputation of January 29th, 1523, the town of Zurich sailed out into the open sea of Protestant freedom; but, thanks to the prudence of the helmsman, the voyage proceeded quietly and happily. In contradistinction to the hotheads, who would have preferred to overthrow the images forthwith and to scourge, with the whip of persecution, the "mass-priests" out of the churches, Zwingli adopted the tactics that a period of instruction should always come first and that the "weaklings" should be given time in which to convince themselves of the truth of the evangelical doctrine. Thus, as far as outward signs were concerned, the victory of the Reformation in Zurich was displayed only in this, that Zwingli and those who shared his views could preach, write and print freely, that the marriage of priests was permitted, and that monks and nuns could leave the cloister whenever they pleased. Then Zwingli moved the Chapter of the Grossmünster to reform itself in a manner weighty with consequences. In September, 1523, the Town Council in understanding with the Chapter, issued a "Christian ordinance," whose principal aim was to provide for the Chapter a fruitful activity. The superfluous number of priests, twenty-four canons and thirty-six chaplains, who spent most of their time doing nothing at all, was to be gradually diminished; and, as the benefices were vacated by death, they were to be filled by able men of learning. In a word, the Chapter was to be transformed into a High School for the training of an effective set of ministers of the word of God.

Many of Zwingli's adherents were dissatisfied with his tolerant attitude towards "idols" and the mass. A cobbler named Klaus Hottinger, with others to assist him, cut down a great crucifix in broad daylight in the suburb of Stadelhofen; and in the neighbouring village of Wipkingen the images were removed from the church during the night and thrown into the Limmat. These beginnings of image-breaking caused, however, great excitement in

Zurich. Some demanded the penalty of death for those guilty of sacrilege, while others loudly acclaimed their actions. Zwingli, who, on principle, regarded the question of images as one of minor importance, could not avoid declaring, now that the question had become a burning one, that the veneration of images was in contradiction with the second commandment of the Decalogue; but, in view of the arbitrary conduct of the image-breakers, he considered that they had deserved a moderate punishment. In the Councils there was a violent conflict of opinion; and it was once more determined that there should be a disputation for the special purpose of threshing out the question of images and the mass.

This second disputation was fixed for October 26th, 1523. Invitations were sent to the bishops of Constance, Chur and Basel and to all the Cantons. But the attempt to give the affair a general Swiss character was foredoomed to failure. The bishops refused all participation, and of the Confederates only Schaffhausen and St Gall were represented. Nevertheless, when the debate was opened by the burgomaster Marx (Mark) Röist 900 persons were present. Three learned men from outside, Vadianus and Schappeler from St Gall and Sebastian Hofmeister from Schaffhausen, were named presidents. Since the Catholics had no leading representatives, such as Faber had been at the first disputation, Zwingli who appeared against the mass, and Leo Judä who appeared against the images, had an easy task. The main interest of the three days' disputation lay in the different tendencies which became manifest among the innovators themselves. On the one hand there now appeared for the first time in open opposition to Zwingli those who later became Anabaptists, such as Conrad Grebel, for these blamed Zwingli for his excessive tolerance of idolatry. On the other hand Conrad Schmid of Küssnacht, though he was an ardent advocate of the Reformation, gave a warning against the too speedy abolition of symbols endeared to the people.

For the time the Town Council postponed its decision, and by punishing the image-breakers showed that it was not disposed to tolerate the riotous acts of isolated individuals; Klaus Hottinger was banished from the Canton of Zurich for two years. But just as little could the Council be held back from advancing along the path entered upon. Religious pageants came to an end. Those of the old way of thinking grievously lamented that no longer as of old

on Palm Sunday was the ass led through the streets; that no longer on Whitsun Monday was the reliquary of the saints Felix and Regula, the patrons of the town, carried up in a brilliant procession to the Lindenhof, the acropolis of Zurich; and that even the festival of Corpus Christi was abolished by the Council.

Ever more impatiently a strong party pressed for the abolition of images and the mass. It was plain that the leading statesmen found it difficult to persuade themselves to take so strange a step, which would bring Zurich into the sharpest opposition to the other Confederates and indeed with the whole of Christendom. But in 1524, on June 13th and June 15th, respectively, occurred the sudden deaths of the two burgomasters, Felix Schmid and Marx Röist; and their posts were filled by younger men, Heinrich Walder and Diethelm Röist, son of Marx Röist, both declared friends of Reform. On the day of the death of old Röist the Small Council and the Great resolved to remove the images from the churches of the town, but those who had presented an image were to be allowed to take it home. As regards the rural districts, in accordance with the advice of Zwingli, it was left for each congregation to decide for itself by a majority vote whether it would abolish the images or retain them. Most of the congregations had merely been awaiting this permission, and joyfully burned the whole "pack of idols," but a few of them still retained the images until 1529. In the town, under the supervision of the town architect, the images were removed by workmen when the church doors were closed, and the bones of the patron saints of the town were quietly buried. Zwingli, who was a friend of the fine arts, drew a sharp distinction between the images which were objects of veneration and prayers, and which were therefore contrary to the scriptural commandments, and those which were not such objects; and he carefully limited the abolition to the former.

"Where there is no danger of idolatry," he wrote, "there is no reason why we should trouble ourselves about images; but there should be no idols in the whole world. In Zurich we have cleansed all the temples from the idols, but there are still many pictures in the windows. Some persons went out into the country and broke the windows. But the authorities interfered with this, for the windows did not mislead any into the practice of idolatry."

Thus it was that Zwingli protected the beautiful stained glass with which some of our Protestant churches are adorned even to the present day.

The mass still persisted as the last pillar of the vanished glories. On Tuesday in Holy Week, 1525, Zwingli and the other pastors of the town appeared before the Great Council to demand that the mass should be replaced by the Lord's Supper, as the Evangelists described it. On this question there was still a strong opposing party, and it was only by a small majority that the proposal was adopted on the following day. On Maundy Thursday, April 13th, 1525, the first Lord's Supper was celebrated in the Grossmünster in accordance with the simple and beautiful liturgy composed by Zwingli. The crowd was great at this new service of commemoration, which was repeated on Good Friday and on Easter Day, but the celebration of which was otherwise restricted to the principal festivals.

With the mass disappeared the last vestiges of the old church system. The altars and tabernacles were destroyed as superfluous, the gold and silver chalices, monstrances and reliquaries were melted down, the altar-cloths and the vestments were sold. Even the organs, whose music was so closely associated with the mass, were silent. Nothing of a sensuous character was to distract the attention from the purely spiritual divine service, from the preaching of the Word of God. Not until the end of the sixteenth century did Zurich introduce the singing of chorales into its churches.

State and Church in Zurich were now identical, and it was the natural consequence of this that the State should lay hands upon the property of the Church. The ordinary church property was employed for the maintenance of the new Cantonal churches. It was otherwise with the monasteries, which were regarded by the Reformers as useless and even as directly injurious; but their abolition was to be effected without hardship for the inmates. Monks and nuns who were unwilling to return to the ordinary life of the world received support until the end of their days. On December 5th, 1525, the princess-abbess of the Fraumünster, Katarina von Zimmern, voluntarily handed over to the town her foundation, nearly seven hundred years old, with all its rights and possessions. The Town Council took her under its protection as a fellow citizen, and provided for her and for the other ladies of the foundation an

income suitable to their rank. The chapter of the Grossmünster, on the other hand, remained in existence, thanks to the reforms introduced by Zwingli, and its income was left at its own disposal. Under Zwingli's guidance, it became transformed into a High School, at the head of which was Zwingli himself. He based the study of theology upon a sound Humanist education, and attracted for this purpose to Zurich a number of leading philologers, such as Ceporinus, Mykonius, Collin, Bibliander, Pellicanus and others. On New Year's Day, 1531, it was possible to play in Zurich the *Plutus* of Aristophanes in the original Greek; Zwingli composed a musical accompaniment, while Collin wrote a metrical prologue.

Prior to the Reformation, Zurich was perhaps the most sluggish among the great towns of Switzerland, but now, under Zwingli's leadership, it became one of the intellectual centres of the country. Characteristic was the position which it immediately gained as a centre of printing. A few pamphlets and wood-cuts, a calendar and a little prayer-book, are the only achievements of the printer's art in Zurich down to the Reformation. But almost at the same date as Zwingli the Swabian printer, Christopher Froschauer, had come to the town, and had, since 1521, displayed an astonishing activity on behalf of the Reformation. He printed the works of Zwingli, Leo Judä, Bibliander, Pellicanus, Collin, Bullinger, Conrad Gesner, Stumpf, Josias Simler and many others. The books issued from his press number nearly a thousand, among which were numerous folios and many works in several volumes. The breach with Luther made the Zurichers feel the need for their own translation of the Bible; and Leo Judä, the pastor of St Peter's, was the soul of this movement. About 1531, the complete Zurich Bible was issued from Froschauer's press, magnificently illustrated; and it is the pride of Zurich that this translation was completed before that of Luther. It was formerly believed that Coverdale's Bible, the first complete English translation, published in 1535, was printed by Froschauer, but this is now disputed. It is, however, certain that in 1550 the New Testament and also the whole Bible were printed in English by Froschauer. For the illustration of his books he employed such artists as Hans Holbein, Michel Beham and Hans Asper.

In so far as the property of the Church was realisable in cash it was chiefly employed for the poor and the care of the sick. It is one

of the glories of the Reformation that through its influence provision for the poor, which had hitherto been left to mendicancy or to ecclesiastical institutes, now became an affair of state, and that thus the foundations were laid for a future system of poor relief. In Zurich this was effected by means of the Alms-Ordinance of January 15th, 1525, by which begging was strictly forbidden, and a sharp distinction was established between those really in need and professional beggars and the work-shy.

The opponents of the Reformation prophesied that it would lead to relaxation of all discipline and to widespread immorality, to a mode of life resembling that of the Turks and the heathen. Zwingli wished to prove, on the contrary, that the Word of God manifested its power also in the sphere of morals. The first opportunity was offered in connection with the marriage system. The Town Council removed this from the control of the bishop, whose authority was no longer recognised, and in May, 1525, instituted a marriage-law and a marriage court of its own. All the numerous marriage prohibitions which the Catholic Church had established were now abolished, except the one relating to the marriage of the nearest relations, while in addition the possibility of complete divorce was admitted. Adultery was punished, concubinage suppressed, both among priests and laymen; the brothel was done away with, and prostitutes were expelled. Speaking generally, however, the moral legislation of Zurich in the days of Zwingli was far removed from the gloomy severity which subsequently characterised the dominance of Calvin in Geneva; Zwingli aimed only at the repression of excesses, and not at the prevention of cheerfulness and joy.

The prohibition of foreign military service and of pensions was made especially strict, and even capital punishment was inflicted to ensure that the prohibition should not remain a dead letter. In 1526 an elderly councillor, Jacob Grebel, a man in other respects of unblemished reputation and highly respected, was decapitated because he had been convicted of repeatedly receiving money from France.

The reproach has frequently been levelled against Zwingli that he subjected the Church to the State, and that he simply replaced pope and bishop by the Town Council. He could rightly have answered this accusation by saying that the Council in this respect only took the place of the Elders in the primitive Church, and that

what he did was done with the assent of the Church, that is to say with the assent of the people. The numerous popular votings that were made during the Reformation showed that the assent of the people of Zurich was no mere fiction; in 1524, for instance, the guilds in the town and the rural communes were asked their opinion no less than three times. Zwingli could write without exaggeration to Blaurer, the Reformer of Constance:

> In Zurich the law regarding mercenaries was enacted; gold and silver ornaments, precious stones and silken clothing were laid aside or were sold for the benefit of the poor; cursing, blasphemy, drinking societies, and gaming, were done away with; adultery and prostitution were forbidden, the brothels were closed, wanton dancing was restricted; the mass was abolished, the images were removed, and seductive ceremonies were done away with—and all this was effected, not so much by order from above as at the demand of the people.

Freely, and without the constraint of authority, the people of Zurich adopted the Reformation with all its consequences.

For the very reason, however, that the authorities spoke in the name of the majority of the people, it was necessary that their orders should be unconditionally obeyed. The minority or isolated individuals had no right to expect toleration for their peculiarities. In the Church of Zwingli there was as yet no place for freedom of belief in the modern sense. After the mass had been officially abolished, its celebration was no longer tolerated, lest discord should be sown among a harmonious people. At first those who still adhered to the old faith were allowed to attend mass elsewhere, but subsequently this was forbidden, under a penalty of a fine of one mark; and a similar fine was inflicted for failure to attend the Protestant service. Nevertheless, in Zurich no Catholics were executed on account of their faith, nor were any expelled from the Canton for that reason.

Severer were the proceedings against the extreme wing of the Reformers, the Anabaptists. Very early there was manifest in Zurich the existence of a party which made it a reproach to Zwingli that he was content with half-measures; the adherents of this party distinguished themselves from Zwingli by their excessive veneration for scriptural externals, and by their definite tendency towards a social revolution. The leaders of these extremists were two learned but fanciful Zurichers, Felix Manz and Conrad Grebel, son of the

Councillor Jacob Grebel, who, with his family, had fallen away. So early as the summer of 1523 they had demanded that the faithful, without awaiting the decision of the Council concerning images and the mass, should separate themselves from the others as the people of God, and should institute divine service in precise accordance with the example of Apostolic times. It was, however, Zwingli's aim to found, not a sect which should separate itself from the community, but an all-embracing reformed popular Church. After the second Disputation, for Manz, Grebel and their comrades, Zwingli was only the "anti-Christ at the Grossmünster"; they held aloof from the church and assembled in private houses.

In the year 1524, presumably under the influence of the German agitator, Thomas Münzer, who in the autumn of that year was living near the Swiss frontier, the rejection of infant baptism came into vogue among the Zurich extremists, being regarded by them as an institution of the devil; and Anabaptism was henceforward the war-cry of the extreme Reformers. Hitherto Zwingli had left his extreme opponents undisturbed; but when they declared open war against a custom so deeply rooted in the life of the people as was infant baptism, he found it necessary to take up a definite position. From all directions, even from so far away as Strassburg, demands poured in upon him for instruction as to the baptismal question. He did not himself attach any profound importance to baptism; but for this very reason he disapproved all the more strongly of the passion with which the Anabaptists opposed infant baptism, as if this practice were the greatest of all sins. At the outset, the parish priests of the town tried to appease the Anabaptists by personal interviews. Since this proved unavailing, the Town Council decreed that on January 17th, 1525, a public disputation concerning the question of baptism should take place; and this was followed by several others. They all ended in a victory of the Council and of the burghers, and in the defeat of the Anabaptists. The consequence was that the Council enjoined infant baptism, forbade the private assemblies of the Anabaptists, and expelled their foreign preachers from the country.

But the beginnings of martyrdom served only to spur the Anabaptists to a really vigorous opposition. Hitherto they had merely omitted infant baptism, but now they introduced re-baptism of adults as a sign of the communion of saints. Conrad Grebel first

baptised the Grisons' ex-monk, Blaurock, who claimed to receive divine revelations. In Zollikon, a village not far from Zurich, where the Anabaptists had more adherents than in that town, they began, in accordance with the example of the first Christians, to practise community of goods. They declared the State and constituted authority to be needless; they contested the lawfulness of the taxes which served to maintain these; and they urged the people to refuse payment.

Although the mass of the people of Zurich were uninfluenced by the enthusiasm of the Anabaptists, the attacks made by the latter upon taxes, tithes, and ground-rents were not without effect, more especially since they occurred at the same time as those of the great German peasants' movement. When across the Rhine and the lake of Constance the disturbances were general, in Switzerland also the leaven began to work. In the end of March, 1525, the Zurich peasants took to fishing and to hunting, saying that God had given the waters and the woods freely; the monastery of Rüti and the Hospitallers' house at Bubikon were plundered. It was owing, above all, to the prudence of the Zurich government, acting on the advice of Zwingli, that the disturbances did not assume a more serious form. The government abstained from using force against the peasants, and invited them to make a written statement of their grievances. In the beginning of May, 1525, piles of written complaints had accumulated in the Cantonal chancery. In their entirety the demands of the peasants called into question the whole economic basis of the State and of the Church, and it was out of the question that any general assent could be given to them; Zwingli, however, induced the government to declare that serfdom with its associated burdens was abolished. The peasants were not satisfied with this. At a great popular assembly at Töss near Winterthur it was even suggested that an armed attack upon the town should be made; but the popular bailiff, Lavater of Kyburg, who appeared among the peasants, was able, with the aid of the elders and the cooler heads, to prevent by sage advice the carrying out of this resolution. The news of the tragical results of the German rising, of the thousands who, on the other side of the Rhine had been massacred, hanged, run through with pikes, or broken on the wheel, helped to calm the heated spirits in Switzerland. The Council summoned the representatives of the peasants to Zurich in order

to elucidate the question of the tithes by the favourite method of a public disputation. Zwingli showed convincingly that the tithes were a lawful burden, which could not be simply shaken off at will, and consequently the rural delegates renounced any further demands.

In other Cantons as well, in Schaffhausen, Basel and Solothurn, in Thurgau, in the domains of the abbot of St Gall and the bishop of Basel, there were disturbances among the peasants; but nowhere did these lead to armed intervention and loss of blood; everywhere it was found possible to still the storm by prudent negotiation. The Swiss towns also went actively to work to alleviate, by their mediation, the lot of the peasants in Germany. Thus Basel, with the aid of envoys from Zurich, Bern, Solothurn, Schaffhausen and Appenzell, was able to bring about, at Offenburg, a peace between the Austrian government and the revolted peasants of Alsace and the Breisgau, whereby the shedding of blood, rapine and arson were prevented on the Upper Rhine.

It was only the Anabaptists who remained a continual source of trouble and confusion. In the Zurich Oberland, Grebel, Manz and Blaurock stirred up the country-folk to fresh refusals to pay tithes. In any districts in which the Anabaptists could work without hindrance their enthusiasm increased to the point of religious mania. In literal fulfilment of the saying, "Unless ye become as little children ye cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven," men and women in St Gall and Appenzell began to conduct themselves like little children, to roll about on the ground, play with fir-cones, etc. The profoundest impression was produced when one of these lunatics, Thomas Schugger, in the presence of his father and his brethren, decapitated his own brother.

These morbid phenomena strengthened the determination of the governments to proceed against the sect with a stronger hand. For a long time Zurich had been content with exhortations, petty fines and brief terms of imprisonment. Now a decree was made, establishing the punishment of death by drowning for any further practice of Anabaptism. In the summer of 1526, Grebel died at Maienfeld in the Grisons. Since Manz and Blaurock were found once more in the domain of Zurich at a ceremony of Anabaptism, Manz was put to death by drowning in January, 1527, while Blaurock, being a foreigner, was whipped out of the town. Within

the life-time of Zwingli three other Anabaptists were drowned, and after his death two more, after which the Anabaptist movement became extinct in the Canton as far as outward signs were concerned. Bern and St Gall likewise adopted the methods of Zurich against the Anabaptists. In view of the position which Zwingli occupied in the State of Zurich he cannot be acquitted of responsibility for the drowning of the Anabaptists, although he had for a long time held the government back from taking severe measures, since he was distressed at any attack upon religious freedom.

In proportion as Zurich advanced upon the path of the Reformation, Zwingli became the real ruler of the State. As his opponents said in mockery, he was town pastor, town burgomaster, town councillor and town secretary in one person. His advice was in continual request both in temporal and ecclesiastical matters. When, towards the end of 1524 a secret council was instituted for the conduct of political affairs, Zwingli was at once made a member of it. He filled the executive with his ideas, and his influence determined what they should do and what they should leave undone.

Equally among friends and foes there prevailed the same opinion as to the man's intellectual power. A priest of the old faith who heard him speak at the Bernese disputation, declared: "The brute is more learned than I had imagined; the big-nosed Oekolampad seemed to excel him in knowledge of Hebrew but by no means in wealth of ideas and clearness of diction." Kessler of St Gall says of him: "In this man all things have been developed to the highest point." An extraordinary wealth of activity was compressed into the twelve years of Zwingli's influence in Zurich. As a notable preacher he formed the minds of the masses in all religious and patriotic matters; he was a professor at the High School, he appealed to the learned in numerous Latin writings, and to the people in works in the vernacular; he composed State papers for the government; and by an extensive exchange of letters he diffused his influence as a Reformer throughout a continually widening circle.

When we glance at the great number and complexity of Zwingli's writings, almost all of which were written within the nine years, the period of his most practical activity, we find it difficult to understand how he can have found time for so immense a literary production. It cannot be denied that form suffered somewhat for

this rapidity of execution. Zwingli was not, like Erasmus, an elegant Latinist; nor yet in German did he attain to the linguistic power of Luther. Yet if we accept his premises concerning the inspiration and universal validity of Holy Writ, we are profoundly impressed by the logical precision with which he develops his reasoning; we delight in the abundance of sane and aptly expressed ideas, and in the compelling force of his polemic, which never, as in the case of so many of his contemporaries, descends into vulgarity.

Notwithstanding the heavy burden of work and responsibility which rested on Zwingli's shoulders, he remained cheerful, sociable and always ready to hold out a helping hand. Just as he had received Hutten in the latter's last illness, so did he provide an asylum for Carlstadt, the former friend of Luther whom Luther had expelled from Wittenberg. His compassionate benevolence was indeed often abused. He sought recreation in intimate family life, in the society of his friends, and in music. To his opponents, who reproached him on account of his love for music he made the humorous rejoinder, that his skill with the lute and the fiddle was now of great use to him, to keep his children quiet. A fine memorial of his family sense is his *Lehrbüchlein*, which in the summer of 1523 he dedicated to his step-son Gerold Meyer von Knonau. This was his sole pedagogic work, and in its educational counsels it manifests the healthy nature of the Reformer. The names of the members of his own household were inscribed by Zwingli on the cover of a Greek Bible. By Anna Reinhard he had four children, two of whom died in infancy. His daughter Regula married the pastor Rudolf Gwalther, the editor of the first complete edition of Zwingli's works. His son Huldreich became a pastor and professor, and married a daughter of Bullinger. With the death of Huldreich, in 1601, the male line of Zwingli became extinct.

Kessler describes Zwingli as "a fine, vigorous figure, rather tall, with a good fresh complexion." Unfortunately, all the likenesses we possess were produced after his death. The only one of these which can be regarded as authentic is that by the medallist Jacob Stampfer, who some time between 1532 and 1539 designed a medal bearing the head of Zwingli, and this likeness seems to have served as the foundation for the best-known portrait of the Reformer, that painted in 1549 by Hans Asper of Zurich.

CHAPTER VII

SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMAN-SPEAKING SWITZERLAND

For years Zurich stood alone in the Confederation, and indeed in the whole of the German south, in its severance from Rome. What Zurich introduced by the power of the State as a Reformation based upon the Word of God, the governments and the people in other Cantons considered to be a falling away from the Christian faith and stigmatised as an accursed heresy. The same "turbulent priest," who, by his preaching against foreign mercenary service, had made the rulers and mercenaries so generally detested, was the man from whom the new Hussite doctrines issued in Zurich. There can be no doubt that the hostility to Zwingli as a political reformer increased the hostility to Zwingli the Reformer of the Church. Lucerne having made a complaint that Zwingli had preached to the effect that the Confederates were selling Christian blood and eating Christian flesh, the Swiss Diet issued an order on July 7th, 1523, that he should be seized wherever he might show himself. Such was the honour paid in the other Cantons to the Zurich reformer.

The five inner Cantons, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Zug, were conspicuous for their zeal against the new doctrines. On April 8th, 1524, they concluded at Beckenried a union for the purpose of "punishing and eradicating, so far as their means allowed, this Lutheran, Zwinglian, Hussite doctrine." Thus was constituted the first of those religious *Sonderbünde* (separate leagues), of which henceforward Swiss history is so full. For the union of Beckenried had the significance of a *Sonderbund*, even though not signed and sealed as such. This is clearly proved by what followed. In all religious questions the Five Cantons henceforward acted as a united whole, and for many years to come this secured them a dominant position in the Confederation.

The Five Cantons even entertained the idea that the Confederation ought to proceed against Zurich for breach of the Federal

alliance, if necessary by force of arms, in order to bring it back to the Catholic faith. Nothing but the refusal of Bern, which shrank from such an invasion of Cantonal independence, and would not go further than the representations and exhortations of a friendly confederate, prevented the idea from being put into execution. After repeated confederate embassies had proved fruitless, Zurich was for a time excluded from the Swiss Diet, since the Five Cantons, and also Fribourg and Solothurn, refused to sit with the envoys of the heretical town.

In 1524, a religious war was on the verge of breaking out. In the "common bailiwicks" the Five Cantons, forming the majority of the suzerain Cantons, took the severest penal measures against the adherents of the new doctrine, regardless of the joint suzerainty of Zurich; and Zurich, being isolated, had no power to protect its co-religionists. The first to suffer on account of these measures was the image-breaker, Klaus Hottinger, who was seized in the county of Baden and was executed at Lucerne notwithstanding the intercession of Zurich. The tangled legal relations of the old Confederation even furnished the Five Cantons with the opportunity of extending their prosecutions, with a certain show of right, even into the territory of Zurich itself. In some of the border communes of Zurich, viz. Stammheim, Nussbaumen, and Burg near Stein, Thurgau, among the sovereign Cantons, possessed the *Blutbann*, that is to say jurisdiction over serious criminal offences, whereas all the other sovereign rights belonged to Zurich. In the summer of 1524 these communes, in virtue of the permission given by the government of Zurich, removed the images from their churches; whereupon the bailiff of Thurgau, a man of Schwyz, had the pastor at Burg seized at his parsonage in the middle of the night and sent as prisoner to Frauenfeld. At the sound of the alarm bells, the men of Stein, Stammheim and other communes seized their arms, pursued the bailiff's constables and demanded with threats the liberation of the pastor. When this was refused, the mob, in defiance of the advice of their leaders, wreaked their fury on the Carthusian monastery of Ittingen near Frauenfeld, plundering the house, and then setting it on fire. The energetic measures taken by Zurich to restore order proved successful, and the town itself proposed to punish those of the guilty that had not already taken to flight. The Five Cantons, however, prepared for war, and

with threats required from Zurich, that the leaders of the riot, who had been arrested, the deputy-bailiff Wirth of Stammheim, his two sons, Hans and Adrian, and the deputy-bailiff Rüttimann of Nussbaumen, should be sent to Baden, where the Swiss Diet was to sit in judgment upon them. To avoid war Zurich surrendered the offenders, after the Bernese envoy had pledged his word that they were to be tried and punished solely on account of the tumult at Ittingen. Notwithstanding this pledge, the unfortunate men were tortured at Baden and executed with the sword, admittedly not so much on account of their participation in the riot of Ittingen, where they had done everything in their power to prevent the disorders, as on account of the removal of the images from the churches in their communes. The life of one only among them, Adrian Wirth, was spared at the intercession of his mother. The Five Cantons regarded these executions as merely a beginning. They imperiously demanded the restoration of the images and of the mass at Stammheim, and, when Zurich refused to yield to their demands, they were withheld from taking up arms only by the dread of powerful Bern.

More and more passionately did the Five Cantons carry on the struggle against these innovations. Whereas at first they had been content with the expulsion of the heretics, they began in 1525 to burn them "with fire to dust and ashes," and endeavoured to give their methods the force of law throughout the entire Confederation. In January, 1525, the Diet held at Lucerne proposed a Confederate religious concordat containing forty-seven articles, which decreed severe punishments against the Lutheran-Zwinglian heresy, and against the printing and diffusion of Zwingli's writings and similar books. On the other hand, the statesmen of the Five Cantons did not deny that a reform of the Church would be the best means of avoiding religious revolution; they also admitted that abuses existed, and in their religious concordat they endeavoured to take steps against these. That which could be purchased from Pope and bishop in the way of dispensations and absolutions, every pastor ought to provide freely to the common man without payment; and the sale of indulgences ought to be prohibited. Similarly the concordat was to do away with ecclesiastical legacy-hunting, with the accumulation of wealth in the dead hand, with the appeal to ecclesiastical jurisdiction in temporal affairs. Clerical evil-doers

were, like laymen, to suffer penalty in body and in life at the hands of the temporal government; the trade in benefices was no longer to be tolerated; monasteries and other religious foundations were to be placed under governmental supervision.

Had all the Cantons and Allies formally pledged themselves to the forty-seven articles according to the scheme of the Five Cantons, it would hardly have been possible for Zurich to maintain ts separate position permanently. But Basel, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, St Gall and the Grisons, where powerful Protestant parties already counterbalanced those of the old faith, would not consent to participate in this concordat. After some vacillation, Bern also refused to join. Conversely, many Catholics raised objections to the concordat, on account of its attacks on the clergy, and because of the extensive limitations it wished to impose upon ecclesiastical authority. The remarkable attempt to stifle Protestantism in Switzerland by means of a Catholic counter-reformation instituted by the governments thus came to nothing; and the Five Cantons were unable to prevent other Cantons, besides Zurich, from wavering.

Everywhere, except where the governments intervened with the strong hand, the seed of the new intellectual life was sprouting, the productions of the printing presses were being devoured, priests and laymen were moving in the direction of Luther and Zwingli. In Bern, the leading apostle of the Reformation was the painter and poet Nicolas Manuel, the most brilliant figure among the Swiss poets and artists of the sixteenth century, a man who, in his many-sided activity, recalls the great Italians of the Renaissance. At the carnival of 1523 there were performed in the open air two witty carnival plays of his, entitled *The Pope and his Servants* and *The Contrast between the Pope and Christ*. These plays chastised the degeneration of the Church with terrible satire. In the second piece there appeared, on the one hand, the Saviour, wearing the crown of thorns, seated upon an ass, with a number of followers, fishermen, the halt, the blind, and the sick; on the other hand was the Pope, on horseback, in armour, with his court and with a great army mounted and on foot, with banners, trumpets, drums and fifes, artillery, prostitutes, and camp-followers, in all his magnificence as if he were the Sultan. Two peasants are looking on at the procession, and one learns with astonishment from the other that the

great man who rides in triumph on horseback is the vicegerent of the humble man upon the ass. It would hardly be possible to display more forcibly to the people the contrast between primitive Christianity and the Papal Church.

The poet of Bern was rivalled by the preacher Berthold Haller, who with great caution, as was recommended to him by Zwingli, but with a vigorous tenacity, prepared the "rough bears" for the Reformation. At the outset, too, the government was by no means hostile. But the progress of the movement, especially when it passed over into the social sphere as well, made the Bernese statesmen pause. The Small Council endeavoured, as in Lucerne and Fribourg, to get rid of the whole nest of Lutherans, to expel Berthold Haller and other pastors of his way of thinking. In the Great Council, however, vigorous opposition was offered; and on October 23rd, 1523, the decision of the Small Council was revoked. One of the Bernese nobles complained that all was now at an end, and that Luther's views would make unrestricted progress. In fact, inasmuch as the Great Council opposed the government when it wished to follow in the footsteps of the Five Cantons, Bern became separated from these latter, although for a considerable period in its religious decrees the town continued to forbid deviations from the Catholic doctrine, and dismissed priests who married.

If the soil seemed anywhere prepared for the acceptance of the Reformation it was in Basel. The printers of that town, unhindered by those in authority, diffused the Lutheran writings throughout the world; here lived Erasmus, of whom it was said that he had laid the egg which Luther had hatched; here lived a whole circle of men of learning who joined with Erasmus in venting their anger and their mockery against the malpractices of the Church. And yet it was this very circle of Humanists that constituted the chief hindrance to the victory of the Reformation in the town on the Rhine. Unquestionably the Humanists detested the hierarchy with its burnings at the stake, but they soon came to detest even more the evangelical preachers with their train of image-breakers.

Whilst the Basel Humanists, and above all Erasmus and Glareanus, drew back from the movement, it secured a leader in the Swabian, John Hussgen, more commonly known by his Hellenised name of Oecolampadius (House-Lamp), who was in a relation to Zwingli

similar to that which Melanchthon bore to Luther. Born in 1482 at Weinsberg in Würtemberg, Oecolampadius had acquired a profound knowledge of philology and theology, and having an inclination for learned leisure had entered the monastery of Altenmünster near Augsburg. His open partisanship on behalf of the outlawed and detested Luther made it necessary for him to leave the monastery. Continually in danger of imprisonment, he sought an asylum at Ebernburg with the German knight Franz von Sickingen, until he was drawn to Switzerland by the appeal of Cratander, one of the printers of Basel. Oecolampadius came to Basel with Hutten, and on December 10th, 1522, he begged the "Herald of Christ" in Zurich for his friendship. In this way a momentous companionship-in-arms came into existence between the intellectual Swiss and the cultured Swabian. Oecolampadius willingly subordinated himself to Zwingli as the leading spirit, and placed his own abundant knowledge at his friend's disposal.

Even before the end of the year Oecolampadius began to work at the university as a *Privatdozent* (unendowed lecturer), giving lectures on the biblical writings; and he also preached as *locum tenens* for the sick pastor of St Martin's, both these activities being increasingly successful. In 1523 some of the conservative professors engaged in intrigues to secure the expulsion of another "Lutheran," the celebrated Hebrew scholar, Pellicanus the Franciscan friar. But the end of the matter was that the Town Council dismissed the intriguers themselves, and nominated Oecolampadius and Pellicanus as regular professors in their place; in 1525 the Council further appointed Oecolampadius as pastor at the church of St Martin. The government of Basel took advantage of the dominant anti-clerical tendency to abolish the last feudal rights of the bishop over the town; and in 1523 the bishop permanently removed his see to Porrentruy. In 1525, the opportunity offered by the peasant revolt was seized upon to secure a footing in the episcopal Jura, and to induce the communes of the Birsthal to make a lasting alliance with Basel. In general, the town endeavoured to hold the scales equally between the contending religious sects, permitting the Word of God to be preached freely, but introducing no alterations in the service.

In Schaffhausen, the learned Franciscan Sebastian Hofmeister, a zealous follower of Zwingli, broke ground for the Reformation

by his preaching. In 1525 a Catholic reaction gained the upper hand, and Hofmeister was compelled to leave the town. In the industrial town of St Gall, on the other hand, the progress of the Reformation, though slow, was steady. Here the principal advocate of the new doctrine was Joachim von Watt, or Vadianus, an intimate friend of Zwingli, one of the most versatile and distinguished learned men of his time. Vadianus had become a professor at Vienna and rector of the university; the Emperor Maximilian had caused him to be crowned *poeta laureatus*; and a brilliant career was open to him in the Austrian capital. In 1518, however, he decided to return home; his fellow-citizens appointed him town-physician; in 1521 he became councillor, and in 1526 burgomaster. In addition to his practical activities, he continued his learned studies without intermission, devoting himself especially to geographical and historical research, and becoming one of the leading authorities and writers in these departments on all Swiss questions. The second of the leading Reformers at St Gall was Johann Kessler. As a poor student he had gone to Wittenberg, to study the true theology under Luther and Melanchthon. When he returned home, since his conscience would not permit him to say mass as a priest, he turned at once to work as a saddler, and employed his leisure hours in the evenings and on holidays in recording his thoughts and experiences in diary form. Thus came into existence Kessler's *Sabbata*, one of the chief chronicles of the Reformation. From New Year's Day, 1524, onwards, the learned master-saddler expounded the Bible in private houses to a number of burghers, and he also did this regularly in the halls of the guilds. These Bible readings founded by Kessler attracted so many hearers that in February, 1524, the Council allowed him to use the parish church of St Lawrence for the purpose.

The Reformation made early progress in the mountains of Appenzell, where in the summer of 1524 the democratic assembly (*Landesgemeinde*) left it open to the several communes to decide by a majority-vote whether they would retain or abolish images and the mass; no one was to be constrained in matters of faith, but everyone was allowed to attend elsewhere such religious services as he chose. In Glarus, also, Zwingli's doctrines took root, although many of his former friends and pupils could not follow him along the path upon which he had entered in Zurich. Such was the case

with Valentin Tschudi, Zwingli's successor in the parish of Glarus, whom Zwingli had himself inducted with a sermon, and with the historian Aegidius Tschudi, who became one of the most zealous opponents of the Reformation.

The waves of the religious movement extended into the valleys of the Raetian Alps. The Grisons was in a condition of political ferment which facilitated the introduction of the new ideas. Since the Swabian war, the Three Leagues had ranked as a member of the Confederation, participating in its campaigns, alliances, and Diets; but formally only the Grey League and the League of God's House were in alliance with the Confederates, and even in the case of these two Leagues the terms of the alliance were so loose that no clear stipulations had been made in respect of the duty of common federal help. Austria still possessed certain suzerain rights in the League of the Ten Jurisdictions and also in the Münsterthal and the Lower Engadine; and Paul Ziegler, bishop of Chur, the feudal suzerain in the League of God's House, was a "bad Confederate," a creature of Austria.

The community of the Three Leagues was a federation of autonomous communes, which exhibited on a smaller scale all the defects and weaknesses from which the Confederation suffered as a whole. A central authority such as was constituted for the urban Cantons by the Councils, and for the rural Cantons from their democratic assemblies, did not exist in the Grisons; there was only a *Bundestag* which met from time to time to decide in accordance with instructions from the communes. Although the Three Leagues had regarded themselves as constituting a whole for more than sixty years, there was no federal document by which their union had been established in definite legal terms.

In order to overcome this defect, the Three Leagues at length drew up at Ilanz on September 23rd, 1524, a common perpetual federal charter, which remained the basis of their constitution until 1798. No member of the league was to enter into alliances without the consent of the two other leagues, or to declare war or make peace without the assent of the other two. Four times the common *Bundestag* was to meet alternately at Ilanz and at Chur, the respective capitals of the Grey League and of the League of God's House, while on the fifth occasion it was to assemble at Davos, the capital of the League of the Ten Jurisdictions. In other respects

each league had identical rights, and whatever was decided by two members was to be binding on the third.

Shortly before, the *Bundestag* had adopted vigorous resolutions affirming the supremacy of the State over the clergy, although these resolutions were still based upon the foundation of the old Church. Certain communes, in virtue of the autonomy they possessed, went further on their own account. From 1524 onwards, individual villages in the League of the Ten Jurisdictions abolished images and the mass, and the others soon followed this example. In the League of God's House also, the very seat of the bishop, Reform advanced with powerful strides. The leader here was Johannes Comander, the pastor of St Martin's in Chur. In 1525 the suffragan bishop Speiser, *locum tenens* of the bishop Paul Ziegler who was absent in Tirol, and Theodore Schlegel, abbot of the monastery of St Lucius, promoted against Comander at the *Beitag*, a committee of the *Bundestag*, a charge of heresy. Comander demanded an opportunity of justifying himself at a public religious disputation. This took place on January 7th and 8th at Ilanz, where Comander advocated his side of the case against the high dignitaries with such success that he had thenceforward nothing more to fear. In May, 1526, the *Bundestag* proclaimed freedom for both creeds; and on June 26th, the Articles of Ilanz were adopted, in which the suppression of the bishopric of Chur was threatened. The opposition between the bishop in Austrian pay, who had removed his residence to Fürstenburg in Tirol, and his subjects who regarded themselves as independent, now reached a climax. Even to those patriots who were devout Catholics it seemed necessary that the political power, at least, of the bishop should be abolished. Consequently, it was decreed by the Articles of Ilanz that henceforth neither the bishop nor any other ecclesiastic should be competent to appoint any temporal official or judge, but that this right should be reserved exclusively for the communes and the councils. In future no bishop was to be chosen without the assent of the League of God's House; and no persons were to be appointed to benefices unless they were natives of the country. The bishop's rights of patronage were transferred to the communes; the monasteries were forbidden to accept postulants; and tithes and other burdens on the land were reduced to the loss of the Church.

By these Articles of Ilanz of 1526, the Reformation was estab-

lished in the Grisons so far as the State as a whole was concerned. But it was only a half-measure that was thus adopted; either no such harsh proceedings should have been taken against the bishop and the Catholic Church, or else the bishopric and the monasteries should have been completely abolished, as had been done in Zurich and Bern. This half-measure laid the foundation for the disastrous party struggles by which the Grisons was subsequently torn.

The Five Cantons saw with rage how the "false doctrine" extended itself around them. They felt that the rough use of secular authority against the movement, which so powerfully affected not the learned merely but also the people, was insufficient, and that it was necessary to make use of spiritual weapons as well. In the whole of Switzerland there was no one among those who adhered to the old faith who could cope in eloquence and learning with Zwingli and his henchmen. Help offered from abroad was consequently welcome.

In the course of the year 1525 there had broken out between Luther on the one hand and Zwingli and Oecolampadius on the other, that momentous difference concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist which was to separate the Reformed Church of Zwingli from that of Luther. Nowhere did this schism between the "heretics" arouse more delight than among the leaders of Catholicism in Germany. The eloquent and confident Dr Eck of Ingolstadt, who plumed himself on having got the better of Luther at the Leipzig Disputation, had long desired to try a fall with the great Swiss heretic as well. So early as 1524 he had offered the Swiss Diet to convict Zwingli of heresy in a disputation. Since, however, Eck would not go to Zurich, and Zwingli had no desire to visit Baden, where the Five Cantons would gladly have sent him to the stake, the plan had fallen through for the time. Now Eck took it up once more and determined to open the attack against Zwingli upon the point in which Eck was himself sure to secure the approval of the Lutherans as well as of the Catholics, namely upon the doctrine of the Eucharist. In November, 1525, Eck's ally, Faber, who had meanwhile been appointed an aulic councillor, brought to Lucerne a letter from Eck in which the latter denounced the "horrible" heresy concerning the Blessed Sacrament, a heresy condemned even by Luther, and offered to dispute with Zwingli and Oecolampadius wherever the Confederates might decide. The Swiss Diet

appointed Faber official adviser, so that the organisation of the disputation really seems to have been his work. In opposition to Bern, which gave the preference to Basel, Baden was adhered to as the place for the disputation; and to pacify the Catholics it was expressly declared in the letters of invitation that the Confederates did not propose any separation from the Church, and that the whole thing was undertaken in order "that Zwingli and his fellows may be put to silence as regards their false doctrine and that the common people may be turned away from error."

In the middle of May, 1526, the "learned (*hochgelehrten*) people" rode from all sides into the town of Baden. In addition to the envoys from the Cantons and "Allies," with their accompanying priests, important embassies had been despatched by the bishops of Constance, Basel and Chur, and the abbot of St Gall. Eck and Faber received a valuable reinforcement in the person of the Franciscan friar, Thomas Murner, from Alsace, whose coarsely humorous poem *Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren* (Concerning the great Lutheran Fool) had won him a foremost place among the opponents of the Reformation, and who in 1525, when a revolt among the peasants of Alsace forced him to take to flight, had established a printing press in Lucerne. Numerous Catholic politicians, prelates, doctors and priests, had found their way to the law-court at Baden which was to decide Zwingli's affair.

But the chief person was missing—the accused, upon whose head the blows of Eck, Faber and Murner, were to descend with crushing effect. In vain had the Five Cantons endeavoured to secure Zwingli's presence at Baden by the offer of a safe-conduct. The failure of Zwingli to go to Baden has been unfavourably compared with Luther's braving of death in his visit to Worms, but unjustly, for the conditions at Baden for Zwingli were very different from those at Worms for Luther. "For your life do not go to Baden," wrote to him a councillor of Bern, "for I am well assured that no safe-conduct would avail you there." Even if Zwingli had thought little of his personal danger, what would he have gained by going to Baden, since he had already been prejudged by the great majority of the assembly? What prudent commander will join battle upon a field where he knows that his defeat is inevitable?

Moreover, the participation of Zwingli in the disputation at Baden would not have been a mere personal concern of the Re-

former's, but first of all a concern of the State of Zurich, which would have been condemned at Baden with Zwingli himself. The first condition for the participation of Zurich must have been that the other Cantons should come to an agreement with Zurich concerning the time, the place, and the ordering of the disputation. Instead of this, the majority of the Swiss Diet, led by Lucerne, had treated Zurich as an accused party, who is simply notified by summons of the time and place where he is to present himself for trial. In a contumelious way, Zurich had been excluded from the deliberations concerning the disputation; and the offer to take part in these deliberations, provided that they took place in due form in the presence of the delegate from Zurich, and that they were transferred to some non-partisan Canton such as Bern or St Gall, had been simply ignored. In view of such a want of consideration, nothing was possible to Zurich but to hold aloof, and simply to forbid its Reformer to go to Baden.

The applauded hero of the day was Dr Eck, who appeared with immense self-possession, and endeavoured to upset his opponent's equanimity, not only with arguments, but also with mockery and contempt; but the true hero in Baden was the unpretending Oecolampadius, whom the Basel men had brought with them, and who, in opposition to the cleverest debater in Germany, supported by Zwingli only by letter, defended his convictions without fear and with so much ability that he enforced the respect even of his opponents. "I wish the yellow man was on our side," said some of the Catholics; and Hug, the mayor of Lucerne, wrote: "If Dr Oecolampadius had not been there, I protest the priests would not have been so shamed as none had ever been before."

To all appearance, in the three weeks' disputation at Baden, the Catholics gained a brilliant victory. Eighty-seven persons, the great majority of those present, headed by Faber and Murner, subscribed the articles drawn up by Eck. Twelve only, a mere handful, ventured to subscribe to Oecolampadius' views concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist; besides these there were some who were on his side in the matter of the mass, or who cautiously abstained from joining either party. In all, there were twenty-seven wholly or partly on the side of the Reformation. At the close of the disputation, Faber made a speech in which he declared that Zwingli was a poltroon; and Murner solemnly proclaimed him forty times

over to be a dishonourable man. Thus, in the eyes of the Catholics at Baden, Zwingli was triply conquered and condemned.

But their rejoicings were premature. When they wished to utilise their majority in the Swiss Diet to secure the printing of the report of the disputation, with a preface and an epilogue by Faber, in which Zwingli and his adherents were condemned in the strongest terms, Bern, Basel and Schaffhausen refused to allow their names to appear in the publication. The seven Catholic Cantons, which on Whit Monday, 1526, having sent a special embassy to Bern, had extorted from the Town Council of that town a promise to abide by the old faith, now demanded that Bern should faithfully observe this "Whitsun Monday oath," and threatened in the event of refusal to incite the Bernese subjects to revolt. By this threat the proud town on the Aar was touched on the raw. Enraged by the arrogant conduct of the Catholic majority, Bern inclined more and more to the side of Zurich, and spontaneously arranged for a new disputation. Greatly embittered, the Five Cantons refused all participation, since thereby "the praiseworthy and valuable disputation of Baden would be utterly brought into contempt and rendered null"; and to the invitation of the Bernese, Dr Eck made answer that it did not suit him to follow the heretics into all their low haunts. Of the Swiss bishops, who were asked to appear in person or to send representatives, under pain of losing their prerogatives in Bernese territory, those of Constance, Basel and Sion sent a detailed refusal in writing. The bishop of Lausanne set out, but had an accident on the journey at a convenient moment; and though, upon the receipt of a threatening message from Bern, the bishop's "learned men" put in an appearance in the town, they set off home again a few days later without having taken any part in the disputation, ostensibly on the ground that this was carried on in German tongue, which they did not understand.

All the more gladly did Zurich and Zwingli accept Bern's invitation, which gave them a brilliant opportunity of wiping out the disgrace of Baden. Zwingli took care to collect in Bern the whole Evangelical force of Switzerland and southern Germany in order to make the victory as imposing as possible. Through the instrumentality of Oecolampadius, he invited the Strassburg Reformers, Capito and Bucer; and Reformers came also from the towns of Constance, Lindau, Isny, Memmingen and even Ulm. The ecclesiastics of

eastern Switzerland and the Swabian towns assembled in Zurich; and the burgomaster Diethelm Röist accompanied the party with 300 men-at-arms, since the Five Cantons had threatened to bar the way in the valley of the Reuss.

The disputation began on January 6th, 1528, in the church of the Franciscan friars, at Bern. The representatives of Catholicism, among whom the most notable was the provincial of the Augustinian order, Dr Conrad Fräger of Fribourg, felt as uncomfortable in Bern as they had been at their ease in Baden. The audience was from the first on the side of the Reformers; and even the Catholics admitted that these latter had far the best of their opponents, not merely in respect of numbers, but also in intellectual power, in readiness of mind, and in knowledge. The disputation lasted three weeks, and ended in the complete victory of the representatives of the new faith. All the theses propounded by Haller and finally published by Zwingli, not excepting the fourth, which denied the bodily presence of Christ in the elements, were subscribed, as having been proved out of Holy Writ, by all the canons of the minster of St Vincent, most of the Dominicans, and nearly all the pastors of the town and territory of Bern, not to mention those who were present from more distant spots. A Catholic canon of Mainz, who attended the disputation, on his way home from Rome wrote: "Thus do we suffer a well-deserved punishment for having despised the sciences and for having neglected study."

The immediate consequence of the disputation was the open adhesion of Bern to the Reformation. On February 7th, 1528, there was issued to town and country the important Reformation decree, which was approved by the great majority of the communes. Throughout the Bernese domain images and the mass were abolished, and the property of the monasteries was confiscated. The only opposition came from the Oberland, which was egged on by the Forest Cantons, and defiantly demanded that either the mass should be retained or else that tithes should be abolished. The revolt was, however, suppressed with little difficulty, although a force was sent across the Brünig from Unterwalden to assist the rebels.

The adhesion to the Reformation of the most powerful member of the Confederation was an overwhelming blow to the Catholic party. Quite recently, the fervent Catholic Cantons had excluded Zurich from the federal oath, which in accordance with the com-

pact of Stanz had to be renewed by all the Confederates every five years, this step being taken as a preliminary to the complete exclusion of Zurich from the Confederation. Now they were to witness how one member of the Confederation after another went over to the detested Reforms. In Basel, when the Council still hesitated to abolish images and the mass, the citizens, on February 8th, 1529, undertook the forcible destruction of the images; and the terrified authorities had no course left but the acceptance of an accomplished fact. The cathedral chapter, a number of Catholic professors, Erasmus and Glareanus, removed to Freiburg-im-Breisgau. Mühlhausen and Bienne also declared for the Reformation. In St Gall, where, in the town churches, images and the mass had long been abolished, the Town Council had to anticipate image-breaking by the mob in the abbey church by itself decreeing the removal and burning of the "idols." In Glarus, too, after severe party struggles, the Reformers gained the upper hand.

CHAPTER VIII

THE KAPPEL WARS

It was impossible that Zurich and Bern should continue to stand idly by while in the "common bailiwicks," for whose rule they were partly responsible, the Protestants were treated as criminals and were persecuted with fire and sword. Consequently they laid it down as a principle that the majority of the ruling Cantons was entitled to exercise control in temporal affairs alone, and not in matters of religion; belief must be free. When the Five Cantons refused to recognise this principle, Zurich declared itself the defender of all the communes and individuals in the "common bailiwicks" or in the principality of the abbot of St Gall (the abbot of St Gall, an "Ally," was under the protection of the four Cantons of Zurich, Schwyz, Lucerne and Glarus) that might acknowledge the Evangelical faith. To show that it would no longer leave unpunished insults to its faith, Zurich arrested Wehrli of Thurgau, one of the beadles of the Catholic bailiffs most zealous in the persecution of the Evangelicals. He was seized on his way through Zurich and decapitated because within the town itself he had spoken of those of the Protestant faith as "heretics and scoundrels."

Under Zurich's protection the new doctrine advanced vigorously in Thurgau, in the Rheinthal, in the county of Baden, in the domains of the abbot of St Gall; wherever persecution was stayed, the people went over in masses to the reformed doctrines. It was evident to the Five Cantons that they were incompetent by their own strength to make headway against the current. In their impotent rage they thereupon resolved upon a momentous step. The imperial town of Constance, which had also gone over to the Reformation, and had therefore been greatly oppressed by Austria, had in 1527 and 1528 been taken by Zurich and Bern into an alliance, or so-called *Burgrecht*. The aim of the two Swiss Protestant towns had been to save Constance from Austrian wiles, and also to gain for the Confederation a conveniently situated new member whose importance had been clearly displayed in the Swabian war.

In Germany, this alliance was generally regarded as the adhesion of Constance to Switzerland; it was therefore a union which every Confederate who was not blinded by religious hatred should have welcomed with joy. The Five Cantons, however, not only rejected the attempts of Constance to enter into a league with them also, but they declared that, if Zurich and Bern were going to make an alliance with "foreign" towns, they too felt at liberty to choose their friends wherever they pleased. They opened secret negotiations with Austria, the oppressor of Constance, the hereditary enemy of the Confederation; and in April, 1529, they concluded with King Ferdinand, who ruled for his brother Charles V in that part of the world, a separate league for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, by which Austria was pledged to furnish them with armed help should Zurich and Bern continue to hinder the eradication of heresy in the "common bailiwicks." On the Austrian side it was already joyfully believed that the outbreak of a civil war in the Confederation would furnish the house of Habsburg an opportunity for taking revenge upon the Swiss for ancient defeats, and would enable Austria to reduce Switzerland once more to subjection.

In view of these dangerous intrigues on the part of the Five Cantons, the reformed towns of Zurich, Bern, St Gall, Mühlhausen and Bienne also entered into a separate alliance, the "League of Christian Citizens"; whilet the Five Cantons united with Fribourg and the Valais to form a Catholic league, and also entered into war-like agreements with Savoy. Thus, as a consequence of the religious disputes, Switzerland was split into two hostile camps, and all Confederate loyalty seemed to have disappeared.

The Five Cantons had already had a secret meeting with Austria at Waldshut, there to carry on negotiations for the war against the Protestant regions. Simultaneously with the declaration of war, Schwyz seized the pastor Jacob Kaiser of Zurich when he was preaching in the "common bailiwick" of Uznach, and had him burned alive. Zwingli, who was unwilling to wait until Austria and Savoy had consolidated their plan of campaign in conjunction with the Catholic Cantons, urged that the offensive should be assumed, and persuaded Zurich to take up arms on June 8th, 1529. The Freiamt in Aargau was rapidly occupied, in order to secure communications with Bern; the towns of the Christian Alliance

were summoned to help; while the main forces of Zurich, amounting to 4000 well-equipped men, were set in motion. The army was inspired by a spirit of joyful resolution and strict discipline.

The plan of Zwingli, who accompanied the expedition, was to make a rapid advance, by which he hoped that the Five Cantons might be overthrown, without much bloodshed, before they could receive help from Austria and Savoy; they were thus to be forced to accept a peace guaranteeing religious freedom to the Protestants not only in the "common bailiwicks," but also in their own territory, and to renounce foreign alliances and pensions. Had Zurich been vigorously supported by its allies, it would hardly have been possible for this design to fail. The Five Cantons were taken altogether by surprise by the sudden attack, while confusion and discouragement prevailed among their hastily assembled forces. When, however, the Zurich men were about to cross the frontier of Zug at Kappel, Aebli, the Landamman of Glarus appeared, and with tears in his eyes besought them to refrain. "Friend Amman," said Zwingli, "you will one day have to answer before God for this delay." Bern also, however, and the other towns of the alliance, urgently adjured Zurich to refrain from beginning a civil war. The consequence was that the two armies negotiated instead of fighting, and among the rank and file even friendly Confederate intercourse took place. Since in the camp of the Five Cantons there was a lack of bread, some of the men-at-arms from the Forest Cantons brought a tub of milk and placed it on the boundary-line. Upon their invitation the Zurich men brought bread, crumbled it into the milk, and with cheerful jests helped their enemies to eat the bread and milk, the men of each side lying on their own ground. When anyone of them stretched his hand beyond the middle of the tub, one of the enemy's men would slap his fingers, saying: "Eat thou on thine own land!" The burgomaster of Strassburg, Jacob Sturm, remarked on this occasion: "You Confederates are wonderful people; even when you are quarrelling, you are still united, and do not forget your old friendship."

But the "milk soup of Kappel" did not prevent the Five Cantons from despatching one envoy after another to Austria urging that help might be sent without delay. Fortunately, King Ferdinand was not in a position to furnish the required aid, since he had need

of all his forces for himself, to protect Vienna from the Turks. Disappointed in their expectations of foreign assistance, the Five Cantons determined to accept a peace which for them was very humiliating. Zwingli, however, was not able to obtain the acceptance of all his demands. The first condition of the treaty of peace was the ambiguous statement that no one was to be constrained in matters of faith, a stipulation which applied even to the Five Cantons. But the Five Cantons had to concede a genuine religious freedom for the "common bailiwicks"; the majority in each commune was to be entitled to decide whether the mass was to be retained, or whether the "Word of God" should be accepted. The alliance with King Ferdinand was annulled; and the Five Cantons agreed to pay the costs of the war, and an indemnity to the children of the burned pastor Kaiser, while the use of insulting epithets on either side was strictly forbidden.

Great rejoicings prevailed among the Reformers over this bloodless victory. Zwingli, however, was far from satisfied, so long as the citadel of the papists remained intact in the heart of Switzerland. Not only did the Five Cantons continue, within their own boundaries, to persecute the Zwinglians as before, but Zwingli had good reason to fear that they would take the first opportunity of renewing the alliance with Austria. In actual fact, a few weeks after the conclusion of the peace, Lucerne wrote to Austria to the effect that, when a favourable opportunity came, they would gladly attack Zurich and Bern. There was, indeed, good cause for alarm when the Five Cantons entered into an understanding with the mighty ruler of Germany, Italy and Spain, Charles V, who, at this very moment, was devoting himself to the suppression of the Reformation in Germany, now that he had secured a free hand by the peace of Cambrai (Paix des Dames) with Francis I of France (August 5th, 1529). To Zwingli it seemed that the only rescue from this overwhelming peril was to be found in an alliance with the German Protestants, who were threatened by the Emperor, and who in 1529 had themselves formed a league. Similar ideas were cherished on the German side by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, and it was he who, in a letter to Zwingli, made the first advances. But there was a serious obstacle to any such alliance between the German and the Swiss Protestants.

Zwingli paid due honour to the intellectual greatness of Luther.

He had, however, arrived independently at his own convictions; independently and without ever asking advice from Wittenberg, he had begun and carried on his own work of reform; it was consequently impossible that, despite all general agreement, there should fail to be divergence of opinion in details. The contrast between the German and the Swiss Reformation had come to a head over the question of the Eucharist. At the outset, Luther had himself desired to give the "greatest possible shock" to the papacy by the demonstration, in accordance with the Scriptures, that in the elements there was nothing present but ordinary bread and wine; but ultimately he found himself unable to get over the sacramental words in the text: "Take eat; this is my Body; drink...for this is my Blood." He rejected indeed the Catholic dogma of "transubstantiation," the transformation of the bread and the wine into flesh and blood in virtue of the consecration by a priest, but he held fast to the dogma of "consubstantiation," according to which, in the Eucharist, the body and the blood of Christ are in actual fact consumed by the faithful. Zwingli, on the other hand, went back deliberately and logically to the idea of a simple commemorative meal. He interpreted the sacramental words figuratively, regarding the Lord's Supper as a symbolic reminder to the Christian congregation of the sacrificial death of Jesus; to him, the Eucharist was not a miracle, but an elevating communion festival by which the members of the congregation were united to form one body around the table of the Lord.

The recognition that the Swiss theologians enjoyed a high repute in the imperial towns of south Germany moved Luther in the first instance to send to them his squires Bugenhagen, Brenz and others, and ultimately to take the field in person. Towards the end of 1526 he published a *Sermon upon the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ and against the Enthusiasts*, in which he delivered trenchant blows against Zwingli and his comrades. He classed them with the Anabaptists in one and the same category as enthusiasts (*Schwärmgeister*), through whose mouths spoke Satan. In February, 1527, Zwingli replied with a *Friendly Exposition of the matter of the Lord's Supper*. Of this a German theologian wrote:

Notwithstanding its title, Zwingli's work was a genuine polemic, but it was written with such studious moderation, and with such considerate and even respectful treatment of his adversary's work, that inevitably

almost every opponent must be disarmed thereby or else so enraged as to gnash his teeth.

Luther chose the latter alternative. In a new book, *That these words of Christ, that is My Body, still remain firmly established*, he surpassed himself in the passionate coarseness of his attacks against the "Devil's spawn Zwingli and Oecolampadius." In June, 1527, Zwingli published his answer, *That the words of Christ, this is My Body, which is given for you, retain to all Eternity the ancient and single Meaning, etc.* This work also was reasonable and moderate, but it conveyed the expression of invincible conviction and absolute certainty of victory. Thus, the dispute continued, on Luther's side with increasingly savage roughness, and on the side of his opponent with a keener and keener dialectic and a more incisive wit. Perhaps nowhere was Zwingli's elastic freshness of spirit more brilliantly displayed than in this polemic against the giant of Wittenberg. Even though his prophesy that before three years had passed, Italy, France, Spain and Germany would accept his view of the matter, remained unfulfilled, in the opinion of posterity, as in that of his contemporaries, Zwingli remained unconquered in the struggle with Luther. It was owing to the fact that Zwingli manifested his own personal significance as an independent spirit when compared with Luther, that he secured for the Swiss Reformation, which he himself had founded and sustained, a place of equal importance with the German Reformation. Zurich was not simply one among many centres of Lutheranism, but represented in the eyes of the world an independent focus of Protestantism.

With the Bern disputation, Zwingli's doctrines had not only conquered Switzerland but had also made a profound impression in southern Germany. The Reformers of Strassburg, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen and Ulm, publicly adhered to them; and even in Luther's peculiar domain, North Germany, they found numerous secret adherents. The landgrave, Philip of Hesse, was also inclined to Zwingli's views. It was he who originated the plan of bringing about a personal meeting between the two Reformers, as a preliminary to a union and a reconciliation. Luther, who had publicly declared Zwingli to be unchristian and his books to be the hellish poison of Satan, condemned every idea of a union with his adherents; this could only lead body and soul to damnation. Most unwillingly did he join with Melanchthon in accepting the land-

grave Philip's invitation to his palace at Marburg. Zwingli, on the other hand, joyfully responded to the summons, and neither he nor the faithful Oecolampadius shunned the dangers of the long journey, although it led them across much hostile territory.

Thus, at length in September, 1529, there were united under the roof of the palace of Marburg the two men of genius who in the north and in the south respectively had conducted the religious movement with such remarkable energy, but had become enemies. With prudent foresight the landgrave did not immediately bring the two fanatics together, but introduced Luther to Oecolampadius and Zwingli to Melanchthon. It became apparent that the contending parties were much nearer to one another than had been believed; in almost all other points it was easy to arrive at an agreement, but not in respect of the Eucharist. The principal colloquy took place on October the 2nd and 3rd in the Great Hall of the Knights. Luther had written the words "This is My Body" with chalk upon the table at which the four Reformers were seated opposite each other, to indicate that he would not budge from his position. The dispute was conducted on the whole with dignity, but with increasing heat. Zwingli endeavoured by the citation of numerous passages from the Bible which could not be understood in a literal sense to prove that the "is" was here to be interpreted figuratively, referring especially to John vi. Luther replied: "The passage John vi. has nothing to do with the case." Zwingli rejoined: "No, no, Herr Doctor, the passage breaks your neck." Luther made answer: "You are in Hesse and not in Switzerland!" the implication being that Zwingli should keep his defiant words to himself until he got home to his Swiss. Zwingli replied: "In Switzerland we administer strict justice, and break no man's neck except in accordance with the law. But with us it is a way of speaking to say to anyone 'it breaks your neck,' when we mean that his side of the case is hopeless."

On the following day the colloquy continued its severe and laborious course. When Luther was asked to refer to at least one other passage which confirmed his doctrine, he answered that the Lord's words "This is My Body" were enough for him. The Hessian chancellor once more adjured both sides to find means to meet on common ground. Luther merely answered: "I know of no other way than that they should give God the honour and

believe with us." Since the Swiss continued to hold that their doctrines were grounded on God's word and that they had shown Luther his error, Luther concluded by saying that he would leave them to go their own way, and could only commend them to the just judgment of God.

Landgrave Philip was most unwilling that the Reformers should separate in open discord, and did all in his power to promote an understanding; but every advance made by the Swiss was hailed by Luther as merely an indication of weakness. Luther himself wrote regarding this matter:

> They professed with many words that they would say with us that Christ's Body is truly present in the Eucharist, but spiritually, with the sole view that we deign to call them brethren, and so feign harmony. This Zwingli begged with tears in his eyes, before the landgrave and all of them saying: "there is no one on earth with whom I would sooner be at one than with the men of Wittenberg." With the utmost zeal and diligence did they endeavour to appear in harmony with us, and could never endure the expression I used: "You have a different spirit from ours." They burst into flame every time they heard it. At length we agreed that it should be established in the last clause of the agreement that they were not indeed our brethren, but that at least they should not be deprived of our Christian love (which we must pay also to our enemies). Thus they were profoundly dissatisfied that they could not receive from us the name of brethren, but must depart as heretics; but we agreed that for the time being we should keep the peace in our writings.

All that Luther would agree was that the articles of faith which had been recognised by both parties should be drawn up and should be subscribed by all the theologians who had been invited to the colloquy, and that there should be a common undertaking that both parties should refrain from publishing violent polemics against one another. The result of the Marburg colloquy was an ostensible truce, but no true reconciliation—on the contrary. It was not the fault of Zwingli and Oecolampadius that at Marburg the great split in Protestantism was first definitely established. It was impossible for them to sacrifice their own convictions, for this no honest man will do; but Zwingli was prepared to respect Luther's convictions, and to offer him the hand of brotherhood, notwithstanding the divergence in their views. It was Luther's obstinacy which put compromise out of the question.

After the colloquy of Marburg it was no longer possible to dream of an alliance between the Swiss and the German Protestants; and this was doubtless fortunate for the independence of Switzerland. Hardly had Luther left Marburg when he persuaded the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg that no one was to be admitted into the Protestant league who differed from his belief. For this reason even Ulm and Strassburg were excluded from the league. Outwardly Landgrave Philip remained a member of the Lutheran community, but he had been greatly attracted by Zwingli, and continued confidential correspondence with him. The two even discussed the possibility of founding a European coalition in opposition to the Emperor's anticipated attack. Not only was there to be an armed alliance between Hesse, the South German and the Swiss towns, and extended to include all the Protestant members of the Empire, in so far as these were not under Saxon influence, but it was also hoped to draw into the league France and Venice, the ancient enemies of the house of Habsburg. Zwingli has been accused of inconsistency in that he, who had always so zealously opposed foreign alliances, now advocated such an alliance. But the alliances which Zwingli had opposed were those mercenary alliances in which the Confederation had sold itself for money to the highest bidder. He was far too practical a politician to despise all alliances as such, and thus to depreciate one of the most important means that a State can employ to safeguard its own life. The alliances which he had rejected were base money speculations, of which every civilised State would to-day be ashamed; those which he endeavoured to bring into being were alliances in the modern sense, against a power which he had good reason to regard as a danger, not merely to his religious work, but even to the very existence of his fatherland.

Of the great plans of Landgrave Philip and Zwingli but little was actually realised. On January 5th, 1530, Zurich, Bern and Basel entered into an alliance with Strassburg; while in July, Zurich, Basel and Strassburg (without Bern) formed an alliance with the landgrave of Hesse. This had at least one good result, that the Emperor Charles V did not venture, by sending military support, to encourage the Five Cantons to declare war against the Protestant Cantons, which would have enabled him subsequently to take advantage of the civil strife in the Confederation to bring it once

more under the Austrian yoke, as his brother Ferdinand urgently advised him to do. He was afraid that, if he attempted anything of the kind, this would embroil him also in war with Hesse and with the German Protestants in general, which would not suit his present plans.

Meanwhile the Reformation in Switzerland continued to advance. In 1530, Schaffhausen went over to the side of the Reformers, and entered the alliance. In Glarus, too, the Reformation completely gained the upper hand; and even Solothurn vacillated. In view of the continued secret intercourse between the Five Cantons and Austria, Zwingli held that consideration was no longer due to them as Confederates. Above all he endeavoured to deprive them of influence in the "common bailiwicks," and to bind these firmly and exclusively to Zurich. The envoys of Zurich went forth in all directions, in order to encourage the communes to declare themselves in matters of faith, and to induce them to come over to the side of the Reformation. Zurich provided the "common bailiwicks" with Evangelical preachers, allowed them to dispose of the monasteries, gave them advice and commands, and decreed certain remissions as if Zurich were sole overlord.

Most vigorously of all did Zwingli take action against his former sovereign, the abbot of St Gall. For a long time each of the four protector Cantons of the monastery of St Gall—Zurich, Lucerne, Schwyz and Glarus—had in rotation each appointed a captain-general, who during his two years' term of office assisted the abbot in the government. When Zurich's turn to make this appointment arrived, the opportunity was taken to secure by means of the captain the predominance of the Reformation in the territories of St Gall. As on the death of Abbot Franz Geissberg in 1529 the monks had taken the opportunity to appoint, behind the back of the Zurich captain, a Catholic zealot as his successor, Zurich availed itself of the irregularity of this election to refuse recognition to the new abbot. On the outbreak of the first Kappel war Zurich occupied the monastery, whose abbot fled to Germany. In place of the rule of the monks, people without a country who were continually at war with their subjects, Zwingli wished to establish a popular rule. Zurich won over Glarus to its side, and in understanding with the latter, regardless of the protests of the two Catholic protector Cantons, suppressed the monastery. The buildings were sold to the

town of St Gall; Toggenburg was allowed to buy its discharge from all the feudal rights of the abbot, so that it could become a perfectly free land; other persons under monastic rule were given a free constitution which practically secured to them self-government under the supervision of the captain nominated by the protector Cantons. In the autumn of 1530 it was the turn of Lucerne to appoint a captain in place of the retiring captain of Zurich. At the instigation of Zurich the monastic serfs refused to pay homage to the new captain until he swore to maintain the new constitution; but, as he refused to take this oath, the Zurich captain naturally remained in office. In April, 1531, the Toggenburgers, the serfs of the abbot of St Gall, the men of Thurgau and the Rheinthalers united with Zurich and Glarus to constitute a league for the protection of the Protestant faith.

The consolidation of this revolutionary state of affairs necessarily presupposed the overthrow of the resistance of the Five Cantons, which had lodged bitter complaints against Zurich's violations of the law and did not hesitate to appeal for foreign aid. Zwingli was convinced that the complications were such that a way out could be found only by the use of the sword. A ground for resort to force was offered by the unspeakable insults which in the Five Cantons were offered to the Reformed, although these insults were expressly forbidden in the treaty of peace; further by the severe punishments which were continually inflicted in the Five Cantons upon those of Evangelical opinions, whereas Zurich interpreted the peace to mean that the Five Cantons were also bound to maintain religious freedom even within their own domains. It was Zwingli's intention once more to take the offensive and to bring matters to an issue by a decisive blow. Instead, however, of following this stern counsel, or else of maintaining an equitable peace with the Five Cantons, the allied towns determined at Bern's instigation to forbid the importation into the Five Cantons of corn, wine, salt, etc. Zwingli clearly recognised that such a half-measure was the most foolish that could be adopted, since it would necessarily cause intense bitterness throughout the Five Cantons, while leaving them ample time to prepare for war. He expressed his violent opposition to the plan; and events showed that he had been right.

The blockade of supplies, instead of producing a yielding mood in the Five Cantons, aroused throughout them a revengeful and

desperate spirit. They applied for help to Ferdinand, to the Emperor, and to the Pope; and, although they received no definite pledges of support, they were secretly furnished with all necessities for war. On October 11th, 1531, they suddenly advanced from Zug with their entire force of 8000 men towards the territory of Zurich, hoping to invade this before the Zurich men could assemble troops and summon their allies to the spot. The move was successful. All that the Zurich men, taken by surprise, were able to send out for defence at the first moment was an advance-guard of 1500 men under the command of Captain George Göldli, a secret opponent of the Reformation. Near Kappel, in an unfavourable position, he allowed himself to be drawn into battle with the enemy. While the latter was still held in check by strong artillery fire, the main body of the civic troops with the town flag arrived in support of the greatly endangered advance-guard. But owing to the delay in mobilisation, this force, which should have numbered 4000 men, consisted of no more than 700 when it came upon the scene, accompanied by Zwingli. Thus the forces of Zurich had to encounter an enemy four times their own strength. The sun was already near to setting; and in the council of war of the Five Cantons the majority was in favour of deferring the attack till the following morning. Then Jauch, one of the Uri captains, espied a grove of beech trees to the left of the Zurich position which Göldli, notwithstanding repeated warnings, had with criminal obstinacy left unoccupied. Under cover of the wood Jauch ventured to advance with a number of arquebusiers, and as soon as he perceived how weak was the force of Zurich, he made a vigorous onslaught. The main body of the Catholics speedily came to his assistance. For a time the Zurich men held their own in a hand-to-hand conflict; but, when the front ranks yielded to superior force, the whole of the little Protestant army fled in utter disorder. At a mill-stream which flowed to the rear of the battlefield, many of them succumbed to the blows of the pursuing enemy. With great difficulty two valiant men rescued the flag of the town, snatching it from the hands of the dying ensign. Nineteen guns fell to the victors. More than 500 men of Zurich lay dead or mortally wounded upon the field, among them twenty-six members of the Great and Small Councils, and twenty-five pastors, together with the noble Schmid and the abbot of Kappel, Wolfgang Joner, and Zwingli himself, whose wife had to mourn

in addition to her husband, her son, brother, son-in-law, and brother-in-law. The Reformer showed himself a hero in his death as in his life, fighting courageously among the foremost, and encouraging others, until a pike-thrust in the thigh and a stone missile upon his head stretched him on the ground severely wounded. When plunderers were searching the field by torchlight they found him still alive beneath a pear-tree. When asked if he wished for a confessor he shook his head, and thereupon a man of Unterwalden gave him his death-blow. Not till after death was he recognised. Among the crowd who surrounded the cart in order to see his body, was the white-haired chaplain Hans Schönbrunner, who had removed from Zurich to Zug on account of the Reformation. He could not contain his tears, and said: "Whatever you may have done for the sake of your belief I know you were an upright Confederate." But this was not the opinion of the generality. Notwithstanding the exhortations of Goldner, mayor of Lucerne, and other captains, that the dead should be left in peace, at a stormy council of war it was decided that Zwingli's body should be quartered and reduced to ashes as that of a traitor and an arch-heretic. This judgment was carried out by the executioner of Lucerne, and Zwingli's ashes were scattered to the winds of heaven.

From a purely military point of view the battle of Kappel was little more than an affair of outposts. The whole force of Zurich had not taken the field, still less that of all the Protestant Cantons. But the terrible harvest which death had made among the leaders, and above all the loss of Zwingli, made the battle a matter of European significance. It was the first great success of reviving Catholicism. King Ferdinand gave 50 gulden to the messenger who brought him the news at Spires and forthwith informed the Emperor at Brussels that "the great heretic Zwingli" had fallen, adding: "I think much of this news, for it is the first favourable occurrence for the faith and for the Catholic Church."

Unquestionably the victory of the Five Cantons was anything but assured. In Zurich the initial discouragement was soon overcome; and resolute preparations were determined on for the continuation of the war. The leaguers set themselves in motion on all sides. The men from Schaffhausen, Thurgau, St Gall and Toggenburg joined the army of Zurich; and subsequently these united in the Freiamt with the men of Bern, Bienne, Basel and Mühlhausen,

so that the entire fighting strength of the Protestant Cantons now amounted to 24,000 men. In face of this superior force, the army of the Five Cantons, which had meanwhile been reinforced by the Valaisans and by Italian arquebusiers in the pay of the Pope, withdrew into an entrenched camp between Baar and Zug at the foot of the Zugerberg. The Protestants followed. In order to facilitate the frontal attack, a detachment of 5000 Zurich men, men from eastern Switzerland, Schaffhausen men, and Basel men, were to make a flanking movement around the strong hostile position over the Zugerberg and to attack it from the rear. On October 23rd the flanking column crossed the Sihl and ascended the Zugerberg, where they ravaged valiantly, and then passed the night on the eminence of the Gubel near Menzingen, without observing the precautions essential in hostile territory. At two o'clock in the morning 600 men from Zug and others of the Five Cantons, who, so that they might recognise one another in the darkness, had donned white smocks over their armour, broke with loud shouts out of the forest and hurled themselves on the Reformers. These, taken completely by surprise, fled in a panic and many fell under the blows of the enemy or tumbled over rock precipices.

This new and shameful defeat at the Gubel completely demoralised the army of the Reformers. Disobedience and dissension gained the upper hand. The Bernese could not be induced to make any further attack upon the Catholic camp; and at their instigation the whole army was withdrawn to Bremgarten. The result of this foolish retreat into the valley of the Reuss was to expose the whole territory of Zurich to invasion by the Catholics. A raid by them to the lake of Zurich caused so much alarm that the inhabitants of the region demanded from the government with threats that peace should be concluded. Under the influence of mayor Goldner the Five Cantons were prudent enough to propose acceptable terms to Zurich; and consequently on November 16th this Canton made a separate peace. As soon as Zurich had withdrawn from the campaign the whole force of the war threatened to fall upon Bern, which was consequently glad on November 21st to make peace on the same conditions as Zurich. Thus, there was established the second Peace of Kappel. The Reformers had to pledge themselves to leave the Five Cantons and their allies entirely undisturbed in their "ancient, true, indisputable Christian faith"; and, on the other hand, the

Five Cantons were to leave the Reformers to their own "faith." The Freiamt, Gaster, Uznach and Rapperswil were excluded from the peace. In the other "common bailiwicks" the communes which had adopted the new faith might retain it. For Catholic minorities the right to conduct their own services was established, and a claim to a share in church property was admitted; but in the case of Evangelical minorities this was not done. Everyone who before the war had been robbed of his possessions was to be reinstated; that is to say, monastery and principality were to be restored to the abbot of St Gall. The costs of the war were to be borne by the Reformers; and their separate leagues, whether internal or foreign, were to be dissolved. Consequently, not only was the alliance with Strassburg and Hesse annulled, but also that with Constance.

In the course of a few weeks the dominant position of the Protestant Swiss towns had been completely lost, owing to an almost incredible series of circumstances. From the over-hasty advance of the Zurich men upon Kappel down to the conclusion of separate treaties of peace by the Zurich men and the Bernese, blunder after blunder had been committed on the Reformers' side, whereas among the Catholics there had prevailed union, deliberate pursuit of a clearly recognised aim, and a restrained and yet vigorous conduct of the war. It is easy to understand that the thoughts of the Catholic Swiss dwell with pleasure upon this Kappel war, which secured the continuance of their religion. Yet, not merely from the Protestant point of view but also from that of the nation, the issue of the Kappel war was an irremediable misfortune, since thereby was definitely established the splitting-up of Switzerland into two hostile religious camps; and the country was henceforward condemned for centuries to the suicidal employment of its energies against itself.

The one consolation was that the civil war came to an end without foreign intervention, although this threatened the Confederation throughout. The Five Cantons sent one warning after another to Austria; Ferdinand burned with eagerness to take part in the struggle, and in every letter to his imperial brother he urged intervention. The Pope likewise endeavoured to move the Emperor to this course through the mediation of the nuncio and the influence of the imperial confessor. Charles V, however, was afraid that the German Protestants might intervene on the side of those of Switzer-

land; France, too, might make the Emperor's intervention a *casus belli*, and might induce England also to take action in the matter. The result was that the only support that the Five Cantons received from abroad consisted in a certain amount of money help from the Emperor and the Pope. Of still less import were the relations between the Protestant Swiss Cantons and the German Protestants. Landgrave Philip, after the battle at Kappel, joined with Strassburg in offering to send a force of 4000 men, but Zurich and Bern did not accept the offer, because it was not their custom to employ foreign soldiers in their country. With the death of Zwingli and the dissolution, by the second Peace of Kappel, of the separate leagues that had been made by the Reformers, there came an end to the great part that Zurich had for some time played. It had seemed for a while as if the whole of South Germany would go over to Zwinglianism, and as if in the field of politics also this region would become associated with Switzerland. Now, however, the South German towns, abandoned by the Swiss, were forced to adhere as closely as possible to the League of Schmalkald, and consequently to accept Lutheranism.

For Switzerland the loss of Constance was a most deplorable matter. Although this town was a member of the "Christian" alliance, it had not been summoned to the help of Zurich and Bern and had not taken the field. It was hoped therefore that the Catholics might be induced to replace, by a league including all the Cantons, the alliance that had been quashed; and even Aegidius Tschudi of Glarus, a Catholic zealot of the extreme school, was among those who worked with this end in view. But the religious hostility to the Protestant town overpowered patriotic far-sightedness; and the Catholic Cantons declared that they would have nothing to do with the men of Constance. Hence Constance had to depend entirely upon the League of Schmalkald; and in 1548, after the overthrow of this League, the town was conquered by the Spaniards for Austria. Zurich and Bern would gladly have gone to its assistance, but, since they were threatened in the rear by the Catholic Cantons, they had perforce to look on in impotent anger while the renowned imperial city was transformed into an Austrian provincial town and was forcibly converted to Catholicism.

With the collapse of the influence of Zurich abroad, it lost miserably the leading position which the town had secured in

eastern Switzerland, its place in this respect being taken by the Five Cantons. In the regions whose exclusion from the peace Zurich and Bern had been forced to accept—in the Freiamt with the towns of Bremgarten and Mellingen, in Rapperswil, Uznach, Gaster and Weesen—the Reformation was suppressed with ruthless severity. The monastery of St Gall was re-established with all its suzerain rights; and within a few years, with the assistance of the Five Cantons, the abbot brought his subjects back to the old faith, the Toggenburgers alone succeeding in retaining their religious freedom. In Thurgau, in the Rheinthal, in the counties of Sargans and Baden, numerous Protestant pastors were expelled on the pretext that they had insulted the Catholic faith, while laymen were fined or imprisoned on the same charge. Under the pressure of these persecutions new votes were taken about matters of faith; and Catholicism was everywhere re-established where a majority could be secured in the communes, without the Protestant minority having any claim for toleration. On the other hand, in any Protestant communes where there were two or three Catholics, Catholic worship had to be established beside the Protestant, and church property had to be divided.

A reactionary tendency was manifested in the Cantons as well as in the "common bailiwicks." In Glarus, four communes re-established the mass. Solothurn had been on the point of going over to the Reformation. As, on the requisition of Bern, Solothurn had sent a few men to the assistance of the former, the Five Cantons forced upon Solothurn the alternative of paying a war indemnity or eradicating the new faith. After prolonged disputes, the majority decided for the latter course. In 1533 the Reformers wished to secure freedom of belief by force of arms, and the Catholic guns were already levelled against them. Thereupon the mayor, Nicholas Wengi, a Catholic, stepped before the mouth of a cannon and said: "If you desire to shoot, let me be the first victim!" By this high-spirited action the shedding of blood was averted; but the Reformers were compelled to abandon either their creed or their homes.

Even in Bern and Zurich the secret adherents of the old faith raised their heads for a while, in alliance with the friends of the mercenary soldiery. But here the Reformation had struck root too deeply for any serious danger to be possible. It is true that the mass of the people now condemned Zwingli's policy, because the

success which could alone have justified its revolutionary boldness had not been forthcoming. In both districts the governments were compelled, in the so-called "Kappel Letters," to give a written pledge that in future no alliance should be entered nor war begun without the knowledge and consent of the rural folk. Nevertheless, in both Cantons, government and people remained inviolably faithful to the Word of God. Basel, Schaffhausen and the town of St Gall clung no less firmly to the Reformation. In Zurich it was at first thought that Oecolampadius would be Zwingli's successor, but he could not abandon his beloved Basel in this time of tribulation; moreover, sorrow had so much affected him personally that on November 24th, 1531, he followed his friend to the grave. Consequently Henry Bullinger, of Bremgarten, now twenty-seven years of age, was appointed preacher at the Grossmünster. The Town Council could not have made a better choice. Bullinger was an admirable preacher, a brilliant scholar, and a faithful shepherd of souls, as courageous as gentle and discreet. In his forty-three years tenure of office he firmly established the work begun by his great predecessor, and secured honour for the Swiss Church both at home and abroad.

CHAPTER IX

GENEVA AND WEST SWITZERLAND PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION

While in German-speaking Switzerland the Reformation was arrested and even reversed by the disasters at Kappel and the Gubel, it acquired new conquests in the French-speaking west. It was very remarkable how Bern, whose hesitating policy and weak conduct of the war had been largely responsible for the reverses, immediately afterwards took up with energy the task of carrying the new faith into French-speaking districts, and at the same time of extending the Swiss frontier to the Jura and the lake of Geneva. It may be regarded as the exclusive service of Bern that West Switzerland adhered to the Confederation, and that this French-speaking corner of the country became a centre of Protestantism.

What is to-day known as West Switzerland consisted at the beginning of the Reformation of five distinctive domains: (1) the county of Neuchâtel and Valdengin; (2) the county of Gruyère; (3) Savoyard Vaud and Chablais; (4) the domain of the prince-bishop of Lausanne; (5) that of the prince-bishop of Geneva.

Decisive for the relations of Neuchâtel to Switzerland was a perpetual double alliance concluded in 1406 by the count on the one hand and the burghers of the town of Neuchâtel on the other with Bern, in virtue of which Bern secured the right of levying Neuchâtelois directly for its wars, and of acting as judge in disputes between the count and his subjects. Besides this, the county had formed a perpetual alliance with Solothurn, Fribourg and Lucerne. Consequently Neuchâtel had long been regarded as an "Ally" of the Confederation when in 1504, through the marriage of the heiress Joanna of Hochberg, it passed to the French princely house of the dukes of Longueville. In 1512, the breach between the Confederates and France led the Confederates to take possession of the county, which was then in the hands of a weak ruler, and to govern it as a "common bailiwick," through a bailiff. It was not until 1529 that at the urgent request of Francis I, the Confederates restored

the little county to the widowed duchess of Longueville, in return for the renewal of the old alliances with the four towns and especially of the protectorate anciently exercised by Bern over Neuchâtel.

The county of Gruyère was regarded as an "Ally" of the Confederation. The upper portion, Saanen and Château d'Oex, was in perpetual alliance with Bern; the lower portion, Gruyère proper, was in perpetual alliance with Fribourg; while the count himself was allied with both towns. In 1555 the noble house, hopelessly in debt, became insolvent; and the Gruyère men became subjects of Bern and Fribourg, since the creditors sold the suzerain rights, which had been mortgaged to them, over those two towns. Thus Bern annexed Château d'Oex and Saanen to its old territory, while Fribourg acquired Gruyère. Following the principle *cujus regio ejus religio*, Bern imposed the Reformation upon its portion of the spoil.

The greater part of what is now West Switzerland belonged at that time to the State of Savoy, which extended from Nice to the lake of Neuchâtel. Vaud, filled with towns and castles, belonged to Savoy. In 1475, during the Burgundian wars, it had been conquered by the Confederates, but had been restored to Savoy. Only the lordships of Morat, Grandson, Orbe-Echallens, as memorials of this first conquest, remained as "common bailiwicks" in the hands of Bern and Fribourg, whilst Aigle and Bex belonged to Bern alone. Savoyard Vaud was divided into a number of temporal and spiritual feudal lordships and privileged towns. It had its own assembly in Moudon, at which the clergy, the nobles, and the towns were represented; it voted taxes and men-at-arms for the duke, transmitted complaints to him, etc. In Moudon, too, lived the Savoyard governor or bailiff of Vaud.

In the middle of the Savoyard domain was the little ecclesiastical State of the bishop of Lausanne, who was overlord of the town of Lausanne and of various "enclaves," such as Avenches. Lausanne enjoyed a highly developed autonomy, so that it even claimed the right to form independent foreign alliances, though this was a constant ground of dispute between the town and the bishop. On the other hand, the dukes of Savoy had for hundreds of years been endeavouring to secure a foothold in the episcopal town, and ultimately maintained the right of appeal as a sign of their supreme jurisdiction.

The best-known memorial of Savoyard rule on the lake of Geneva, the castle of Chillon, which in its present form dates mainly from the thirteenth century, belonged, together with Vevey, not to Vaud, but to the Savoyard province of Chablais, which surrounded the lake to the south and the east, and also comprised the most westerly portion of the modern Valais below St Maurice. A second ecclesiastical State, that of the bishop of Geneva, lay in the midst of the Savoyard territories at the western end of the lake, forming as it were islands, with several "enclaves," in the Pays de Gex and the county of the Genevois.

The ancient Geneva, to which Caesar refers as a fortified place held by the Allobroges, had become an episcopal see at the end of the Roman period. In the middle ages the bishops had acquired temporal lordship over the town, which was a fragment of the kingdom of Arles. Since the middle of the thirteenth century, the counts of Savoy had cast an eye upon this important fortress on the Rhone. Internal disorders had in 1287 given them an opportunity of conquering the island castle in Geneva; and the bishop had been forced to allow them to retain possession of this castle, as well as to leave in their hands the nomination of the "Vidomne (*Vidame*)," an episcopal official who from the island castle exercised over the town the lesser civil and criminal jurisdiction. But it was the aim of the counts of Savoy to annex entirely to their State the town of Geneva, which formed the key-stone of their domain surrounding the lake. Since in 1416 they had acquired the ducal title, they exercised so great an influence over the episcopal elections in Geneva, that as a rule younger sons, bastards, or other creatures of the house of Savoy occupied the episcopal see; and consequently during the fifteenth century the town for practical purposes belonged to Savoy.

Meanwhile, however, within the walls of Geneva there had grown up an element which was to defeat the designs of the ambitious princely house, namely a body of burghers proud of their freedom. The situation of Geneva between France, Italy and Germany had made the city an important centre of trade. In the middle ages it was the seat of one of the greatest fairs in Europe, until Louis XI, by artificial obstacles to the natural course of trade, greatly injured the fair of Geneva and developed the fair of Lyons at its expense. Just as had happened in the case of the trading towns of Italy, the

burghers of Geneva had step by step conquered powers of self-government. In 1387 the Genevese received from Bishop Adhémar a written charter, which henceforward constituted their *Magna Carta*. In this document important rights and liberties were secured to the burghers, as for instance the prohibition of arbitrary arrest and of confiscation of their goods, restriction of the use of torture, the exclusive right of guarding the town during the night by the burghers, the exercise of criminal jurisdiction by the four syndics or by the burgomaster with four assessors chosen annually by the burghers, which presupposed the existence of a Town Assembly. In the fifteenth century a town council was established by the side of the syndics. The question now was whether the self-government of the burghers would be strong enough to hold its own against the authority of the bishop and of the duke.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century matters came to a crisis. From 1504 onwards duke Charles III, a crafty and unscrupulous prince, ruled in Turin. In 1513, John, a bastard of his house, who was to serve him as an obedient tool for the complete annexation of Geneva, was made bishop by his influence. The cathedral chapter was also filled with the duke's nominees. Some even of the burghers were in favour of Savoyard rule, hoping that this might lead to a revival of the greatly depressed trade and industry of the town. The city was completely isolated, entirely surrounded by Savoyard territory, and had no friends; its fortifications, to use the forcible expression of Bonivard, could not endure the blow of a vigorous fist; the situation seemed hopeless.

All the more memorable is the resolution wherewith a portion of the burghers undertook to defend the freedom of the town against duke and bishop. At the head of the party of Genevese independents were four men of very different characters—Councillor Philibert Berthelier; Amé Lévrier, the lawyer; Bezanson Hugues; and François Bonivard, prior of the Cluniac foundation of St Victor. Berthelier first occupied the foreground, a proud-spirited man, ready to stake everything, even his life, for an idea. He often said to Bonivard: "Good father, for the love of Geneva's freedom you will lose your benefice and I shall lose my head." A man of nearly fifty, he exercised great influence over the passionate young men of Geneva, gathering these *Enfants de Genève* round the convivial board to form a club, whose members took an oath to defend the

freedom of the town to the uttermost, "with teeth and finger-nails" should need arise.

It was a matter of great moment that these Genevese patriots now looked towards the Confederation for support. In Fribourg especially they found sympathisers; and Philibert Berthelier acquired the right of citizenship there. In 1517 the bishop ordered a prosecution against him and one of his most zealous adherents, Jean Pécolat. Berthelier fled to Fribourg. Pécolat was put to the torture by the episcopal officials, in defiance of the laws of the town, and was forced to declare that Berthelier had wished to murder the bishop. But now Fribourg intervened with threats, protesting against the infringement of the liberties of Geneva which was involved in the prosecution of Berthelier, a burgher of Fribourg. The bishop, much alarmed, ceded the right of the trial to the syndics. Pécolat revoked his forced admissions, and was set at liberty. Berthelier returned to Geneva under the protection of Fribourg, and defied his episcopal accusers, endeavouring at the same time to win over his fellow-citizens for an alliance with Fribourg. The duke, having arrested two young Genevese, Navis and Blanchet, at Turin, forced them by torture to incriminate Berthelier, and then executed them in order to terrorise the Genevese. This act of cruelty was, however, without effect; and the syndics of Geneva declared that Berthelier was free from all guilt.

Meanwhile there had appeared upon the political stage the man who was to succeed in realising Berthelier's plans, Bezanson Hugues. A distinguished orator and diplomatist, Hugues aimed at the same end as Berthelier, with the same self-sacrificing resolution, but less openly and with more discretion. In 1518 he was elected syndic for the first time, and carried to a successful conclusion the negotiations with Fribourg for an alliance. On February 6th, 1519, the general assembly of the citizens agreed to exchange the rights of citizenship (*combourgeoisie*) with the Swiss town. Henceforward the Genevese burghers were split into two hostile parties, the Savoyard and the Confederate. The latter party became known in the French tongue as that of the *Eydguenots*, then *Eyguenots*, and ultimately, presumably after Bezanson Hugues, as *Huguenots*. Thus it was in Geneva that the celebrated name of Huguenot had its origin. The adherents of Savoy were by their opponents termed "Mamelukes."

For duke Charles III the alliance of Geneva with Fribourg de-

feated his plans. He did not dare to do anything in the open against the Confederation, since in respect of military strength each Canton equalled a principality. Instead of this, he endeavoured to influence the Confederates in every possible way, in order to secure the spontaneous dissolution of the alliance between Fribourg and Geneva. In this he was successful. Most of the Cantons were adverse from a westward extension of the Confederation. Moreover, the Genevese alliance with Fribourg seemed to conflict with the alliance into which the Confederates had entered with Savoy in 1512, for by this it was established that neither party might assume a protectorate over the subjects of the other, or grant them rights of citizenship or naturalisation. The consequence was that on March 17th, 1519, in response to a complaint made by the bishop and the duke, a decree was issued by the twelve Cantons demanding of Fribourg the dissolution of the alliance, but intimating to the duke that he was not to employ force against Geneva.

In his delight, Charles III overlooked this last admonition, and decided to take immediate advantage of the Confederate decree. He advanced against the "rebellious" town with a force of 8000 men. The disheartened Genevese, divided among themselves, did not venture to offer any resistance. Bezanson Hugues had, however, taken refuge in Fribourg; and here the duke's action was regarded as a violation of the recently made decree. The Fribourgers took the field with flying colours, and pressed forward as far as Morges. With considerable difficulty, envoys from Zurich, Bern, Zug and Solothurn secured an amicable understanding, in virtue of which the Fribourgers retired from the field upon the promise of a war-indemnity, and the assurance that Geneva, which had "voluntarily" withdrawn from the alliance, should preserve its liberties undisturbed.

The expedition of the Fribourgers had at least had this effect, that the duke had to withdraw his troops from Geneva. Their place was, however, taken by the bishop's mercenaries, to whom the Genevese were unable to refuse entry, however obvious might be the purpose of this unaccustomed military activity on the part of their spiritual lord. On August 25th, 1519, Philibert Berthelier was arrested by the "Vidomne" on a charge of high treason and immured in the island castle. He was tried by a Savoyard judge. Berthelier refused to plead in this illegal trial. On the wall of his prison he wrote the words: *Non moriar, sed vivam et narrabo opera domini.* He was con-

demned to death for high treason and was executed the same day in the island castle, where a monument to his memory now stands.

The execution of this martyr to freedom was followed by the dismissal from office of the syndics having Confederate sympathies. These were the last acts of Bishop John. When he went to Piedmont, the Genevese lodged a complaint in Rome, through the lawyer Amé Lévrier, on account of the bishop's illegal use of his suzerainty, and secured from Pope Leo X a prohibition of his return to Geneva. His place was taken, first as coadjutor bishop and after John's death in 1522 as bishop, by the Burgundian, Pierre de la Baume, whom Bezanson Hugues endeavoured to convince how unworthily he would fulfil his princely duties by demeaning himself to become a tool in the hands of Savoy. At the outset, Pierre de la Baume seemed inclined to make common cause with the patriots against the duke. In the long run, however, he proved a broken reed. When, in the summer of 1523, the duke visited Geneva, the bishop, retiring like the moon before the sun, withdrew into his abbey of St Claude in the Jura, leaving a free field for the duke. Charles III made no secret of his intentions. Amé Lévrier, the only member of the episcopal council who had the courage to oppose his designs, was seized in 1524, when he was leaving church, by some of the Savoyard nobles, bound, carried off on horseback to Bonne in Faucigny, and decapitated on the following day.

With the execution of the highly esteemed jurist there began the second reign of terror in Geneva. When the Small Council and the bishop took advantage of the absence of the duke, in August, 1525, to address complaints to the Holy See, Charles III surrounded the town with his soldiers, and the Genevese were so despondent that Bezanson Hugues and other leaders of the *Eydguenots* fled to Fribourg to avoid the fate of Berthelier and Lévrier. The duke entered Geneva and assumed the airs of its sovereign. Towards the end of the year he was once more summoned across the Alps into Piedmont. In order, before leaving, to assure himself of the loyalty of the terrified Genevese, he had an extraordinary general assembly of the citizens summoned on December 10th, 1525. Surrounded by his men-at-arms, this "halberdiers' assembly" (*le conseil des hallebardes*) was forced to pass a resolution expressing the desire "to live for ever under his distinguished protection." While Charles III was bending the Genevese beneath his yoke by his executioner and

his halberdiers he endeavoured to legalise his arbitrary acts; and through the intercession of his ally the Emperor Charles V he secured on October 29th, 1525, a papal bull which directed the bishop to pay homage to the duke of Savoy as his overlord.

On December 12th, 1525, Charles III left the city, which he was never to re-enter. For now the Swiss roughly tore away the net which had been woven around Geneva by duke, bishop, Pope and Emperor. The Genevese refugees, headed by Bezanson Hugues, filled the Confederation with their complaints. On this occasion they obtained a hearing, not in Fribourg alone, but also—and this was decisive—in Bern. The attempt of Fribourg in 1519 to bind Geneva to the Confederation had failed chiefly because Bern had opposed the plan, out of consideration for its ancient alliance with Savoy. But since then, a rift had opened in the friendship between Savoy and Bern. In the great war between Francis I and Charles V, the duke had, at the outset, like the Confederates, fought on the side of France. In the summer of 1524, however, the Confederates received definite information that Savoy had gone over to the side of the Emperor.

With this change of policy Savoy had become an enemy. Bern now agreed with Fribourg that use must be made of the sentiments of the two episcopal towns on the lake of Geneva to secure these important fortresses. On December 7th, 1525, Bern and Fribourg accepted Lausanne into an alliance of co-citizenship. The Confederate party in Geneva, feeling certain that the Swiss towns would form an alliance with Geneva as well, once more raised its head. On February 4th, 1526, a general assembly of the citizens annulled the decisions (won by show of force) of the "halberdiers' assembly." On February 8th Bern announced its renewal of the alliance with Geneva, Fribourg having previously agreed to the same.

Bezanson Hugues and his comrades, passing through Savoyard Vaud, returned in triumph with this treaty which bound the three towns to each other for a term of twenty-five years. In the general assembly of the citizens which the council summoned on February 25th in order to sanction the alliance, the bishop at first entered a protest, and threatened to appeal to the Pope and the Emperor. When, however, six hands only were raised against the motion, and Bezanson Hugues assured the spiritual lord that the proposed alliance would nowise impair his princely authority, the

bishop withdrew all opposition, and gave the treaty the approval which was important for the legal validity of the alliance. On March 12th, 1526, the alliance was solemnly sworn by the Genevese in the presence of an embassy from Bern and Fribourg. Thus the two Swiss towns deprived the duke of his prey at the very moment when he believed himself to have attained his end.

Geneva now became transformed from a half-ecclesiastical and half-Savoyard princely town into a civic republic upon the Swiss model. The Savoyard officials, with the "Vidomne" at their head, fled from the town, together with the leaders of the "Mamelukes." The bishop, who lived for the most part in St Claude, influenced by the prudent statesman, Bezanson Hugues, handed over to the burghers one day in 1527, when he was in a good humour, all his legal rights. The burghers thereupon, with the assistance of envoys from Bern and Fribourg, modified their constitution, following the example of the Swiss towns in the appointment of a Great Council of two hundred. More important than all, Geneva, to avoid being overpowered a third time by Savoy, placed itself upon a war footing. The fortifications were strengthened; the guards and defences were organised; and all military institutions were placed under the command of a captain-general, who could be none other than Bezanson Hugues. Every burgher had to provide himself with weapons and to fulfil his military duties to his superiors under pain of death. Every night the key of the gate was deposited in the town hall; the members of the Council took it in turns to visit the outposts; on the towers the guard was continually on the watch to see that nothing suspicious was approaching the walls. Thus there came into existence that armed Geneva, which for centuries to come was to show its teeth to the surrounding enemies.

Duke Charles III, however, by no means regarded himself as defeated. He acted as if the subordination of Geneva to Savoy had been a settled question, contested the town's right to form alliances without his approval, and complained that through their treaty of co-citizenship Bern and Fribourg had infringed the Confederate alliance with Savoy. In fact the inner Cantons, by word of mouth and in writing, dissuaded the two Swiss towns from their alliance with the two French-speaking cities of Geneva and Lausanne. Bern and Fribourg, however, freed themselves from the reproach of an infringement of legal rights on the ground that Geneva and Lausanne

were not subject to the sovereignty of the duke, and appealed to the fact that the true territorial sovereigns of these towns, the bishops, countenanced the alliance.

The duke did not venture upon an open attack. The refugee "Mamelukes," however, with the nobles of Vaud, the Pays de Gex, and the Genevois, assembled under the name of the *Loeffelbund* to make the Genevese realise the consequences of their separation from Savoy. The lords of the "Loeffelbund" made it their delight to cut off access to Geneva, to maltreat its burghers, and to ruin its trade, so that the town was practically blockaded.

The most famous victim of this veiled warfare was Bonivard. He was by birth a Savoyard noble, and from his uncle, who had been prior of the wealthy Cluniac abbey of St Victor at Geneva, he had in a sense inherited this benefice. So little had he concealed his sympathy with Berthelier and the Genevese patriots that, so early as 1519, the duke had had him seized and imprisoned at Gex. After two years he was set at liberty, but his rich benefice had meanwhile fallen into the hands of a cousin of the Pope and it was in vain that he endeavoured to regain it. All the more zealously did Bonivard work on behalf of Genevese interests. In May, 1530, when he was returning from a journey to Fribourg he was waylaid on the Mont Jorat and was immured in the dungeons of the castle of Chillon.

The Genevese took revenge for their troubles by condemning to death and confiscation of their goods forty-four refugee "Mamelukes" and by slaying the leader of the "Loeffelbund," Baron de Pontverre. Bern and Fribourg did everything in their power to secure a legitimate understanding with Savoy. One conference followed another, but in vain. Between the duke, who was determined to enlarge his strictly limited rights in Geneva into complete sovereignty, and the town, which aimed at republican freedom, no understanding was possible.

In September, 1530, the lords of the "Loeffelbund" attempted to take the town by surprise. The allies of Geneva now lost patience. The Five Cantons, which were hoping for the assistance of Savoy in the religious war, had indeed determined to reply to the Bernese, in the event of any demand for aid, that none should be given. Fortunately, the Bernese and the Fribourgers needed no such help. The appearance of their army of 10,000 men sufficed to frighten away the noble freebooters from the walls of Geneva. The duke

endeavoured to induce the Fribourgers and Bernese to return home, falsely declaring that the attack upon the town had been made without his knowledge. But Bern and Fribourg, having once taken up arms, determined to carry the matter through. The burning of the castles of Rolle, Vufflens and Allaman, and the sacking of the Savoyard villages and monasteries in the neighbourhood of Geneva, showed the terrified Savoyards that it was not with impunity that the bear could be roused to leave his den. Charles III, who was without any adequate force to oppose to that of the two towns, was compelled, for good or for evil, to accept the terms they dictated.

Through the mediation of envoys from the nine Cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Basel, Solothurn and Schaffhausen, and from the two "Allies," St Gall and the Valais, on October 19th, 1530, at St Julien, a little town to the south-west of Geneva, a peace was signed by which, alike to the duke and to Geneva, all further hostilities were strictly forbidden. Bern and Fribourg were given the right to renounce the protectorate over Geneva should the town infringe the peace; while, should a breach come from the side of the duke, Bern and Fribourg were empowered to seize Vaud as a pledge. The points of dispute between the duke and Geneva were to be decided by a court of arbitration constituted by the mediating districts and "Allies." In November, this Confederate court of arbitration met at Payerne, and, after wearisome legal discussions which lasted until December 31st, pronounced a number of judgments in which there was recognised on the side of the duke the only right which he was able to prove, that of the Vidomnate, but under conditions which formed a barrier to his pretensions to sovereignty. The treaty of co-citizenship between Geneva, Bern and Fribourg was confirmed; and, as author of the war, the duke was condemned to the payment of an indemnity of 21,000 crowns. This award of Payerne was all the more significant inasmuch as from the Catholic Cantons and the Valais (which formed a majority in the court of arbitration) anything was to be expected rather than an illegal favouring of Geneva at the expense of the duke.

The defeat of the Reformers at the battle of Kappel encouraged Charles III to allow the dates for the payment of the war indemnity to pass without handing over the money, and to threaten the Genevese once more with blockades and with armed attacks. The

foresight of the two towns in the matter of the pledging of Vaud had, however, put a noose round his neck. So early as 1532 Fribourg considered that Vaud had been forfeited, and armed for war. Thereupon the duke ate humble-pie, raised the blockades, and paid the first instalment of the war indemnity. In this same year occurred the death of Bezanson Hugues. He did not, like Berthelier and Lévrier, perish on the scaffold, nor like Bonivard did he languish for six years in prison, but he had sacrificed his energies and his property unceasingly in the service of his native town and had firmly established its freedom and its alliance with Switzerland. It was in the year of Hugues' death that there occurred in Geneva the first public manifestations in favour of the Reformation. These were to lead the town into new struggles and dangers, but were at the same time to raise it to an important place upon the stage of history of the world.

CHAPTER X

GUILLAUME FAREL AND THE CONQUEST OF VAUD

The Reformation in West Switzerland was taken in hand by Bern, and systematically organised for the simple political reason that, if Bern desired to maintain its influence over this region, it was necessary that it should be bound to that town by a common faith. An admirable instrument was found by Bern in Guillaume Farel, a native of southern France, who had embraced the new doctrines with the ardour of his race, and now became its pioneer in West Switzerland. Farel was above all a man of action; his literary activity was insignificant in comparison with that of Calvin. Furnished by nature with a never-failing stentorian voice, with a convincing and imaginative oratorical ability, and an unyielding energy of will, he was a man who never was stopped by obstacles, but also one who did not spare the opinions of others.

Born in 1489 at Gap in Dauphiné, Farel became a student in Paris, a Master of Arts, and a teacher; and in the circle of the pious mystic, Lefèvre d'Etaples, he drank in Lutheran ideas. After severe spiritual struggles he had abandoned the doctrines of Catholicism one after another. Having been prosecuted as a heretic in France, he went to Basel in 1524, was there hospitably entertained by Oecolampadius, and on a journey made the personal acquaintance of Zwingli and Berthold Haller. In 1525 he became the first preacher to the congregation of French refugees in Strassburg. In the dispute about the Eucharist he differed from the other French Protestants by espousing the side of Zwingli, and for this reason returned to Switzerland. In the autumn of 1526 he came to Bern, and in 1527 was established in the French-speaking subject-lands of Bern and Aigle, at first as schoolmaster, and subsequently as preacher. At the Bern disputation a special discussion was arranged for the Romance districts in the French language; and in this Farel was the principal speaker. The Romance population of the valley of the Rhone showed, however, but little sympathy for the new doctrine; and, even after the official adhesion of the town of Bern to the

Reformation, the people and the authorities in Aigle remained definitely hostile. Yet it mattered little whether the Catholics endeavoured to drown Farel's preaching by the beating of drums, or whether the men dragged him out of the pulpit and the women pelted him with stones in the streets. He would not be driven away, and gained the victory in the end with the aid of a gentle pressure from above. Aigle was the first French-speaking Protestant district. It was because the German-speaking Canton of Bern extended its protection to the French-speaking Reformer that it became in a certain sense the birth-place of French-speaking Swiss Protestantism.

In the summer of 1529, Farel was recalled from Aigle and was despatched to the "common bailiwicks" of Bern and Fribourg in Vaud. Thus, in the centre of Savoyard Vaud, the Confederate territories of Morat, Orbe and Grandson became centres of the Reformation, although in 1525 the popular assemblies of these regions had decreed death at the stake for the advocates of the new doctrines, and in 1531 had actually burned a woman at Yverdon. Where Bern had any voice, Farel thundered against the mass and the worship of idols, being able to do this even in Lausanne and Payerne in virtue of the co-citizenship alliance by which these towns were united with Bern. Neither the bishop nor the Savoyard officials dared to take measures against him, out of fear of the powerful town upon the Aar.

Bern did not delay to direct Farel's propaganda towards Neuchâtel, which had just been restored to the duchess of Longueville. In December, 1529, Farel came to Neuchâtel. Paying no attention to the prohibition issued by the duchess's governor, and sure of the protection of Bern, he preached in the streets and the market-places. He said that, if people had the right to say masses in the collegiate church, it would be proper to preach the Gospel there as well; he mounted the pulpit and inflamed his hearers to such a heat that they immediately proceeded to destroy the images. Violent partisanship was displayed on both sides. On November 4th, 1530, Bern arranged for a vote to be taken in the town; and by a majority of eighteen the decision was in favour of the Reformation. The dreaded apostle worked also in the rural districts of the principality and in the county of Valangin (at this time still separate), allowing himself to be deterred by no maltreatment. In the Valangin he was cast into prison, but the Neuchâtelois came in haste and forced the

authorities to set him at liberty by threatening to burn the castle. Six months later mass was no longer celebrated in the Valangin. Thus was one place after another won over by Farel, with the exception of the little town of Landeron, which was allied with Solothurn, under whose influence the old faith was here maintained.

In September, 1532, Farel attended a synod of the Waldenses in the Alpine valleys of Piedmont. On the return journey, in October, he visited Geneva. He was not the first Protestant within the walls of the town. So early as 1528, traces of the new doctrines had been manifest. Penal decrees had been issued against them; and in the summer of 1532 Fribourg had threatened that, if the Lutheran sect were tolerated, the charter of co-citizenship would be sent back with the seals torn off. When therefore Farel, the report of whose advent had led a number of Protestant persons to assemble immediately in the inn where he was expected, wished to take up his work, the Council, cooperating with the vicar-general, took steps to get rid of the uninvited guest. An episcopal official greeted Farel with the words: "Look here, you mischievous devil! why are you running all over the world to stir up confusion? Who summoned you here and gave you permission to preach?" Farel was at no loss for an answer, but the bishop's officers dragged him out of the house, shouting: "To the Rhone with him!" Thither he was hurried by a raging mob, among whom were fifty priests armed with whips; and he would have been drowned had not the Council intervened to protect him from the worst out of regard for Bern. But he was ordered to quit the town on pain of death.

Notwithstanding this unfriendly reception, Farel did not lose sight of Geneva. At Orbe he encountered a young fellow-countryman and man of his own faith, Antoine Froment. Upon Farel's advice, Froment went to Geneva in November, 1532, and announced himself on a poster as a teacher of languages. From grammar, however, he soon passed to the Bible; and his schoolroom in the "Golden Cross" became the place of assembly of the Protestants. By New Year's Day of 1533, the room would no longer hold all the people who wished to hear him; so Froment went with his adherents to the Place du Molard, the principal square of the town, and standing here upon the curb-stone he delivered a fulminating sermon against the papacy. He could not finish his discourse, for priests, monks and laymen took up the audacious challenge and dispersed the

heretical assembly. Froment was forced to take to flight, but by his activities those of the new faith had been welded into a devoted congregation which continued to grow in secret. They found support in Bern, which sent to Geneva exhortations on their behalf. The intervention of Bern embittered the Catholics. Since the Town Council would not take action against the heretics with sufficient energy to please the Catholics, the latter had recourse to arms, but the Reformers did the same. On May 4th, 1533, there was a regular battle in the Place du Molard; and here a certain canon, Peter Werli, a native of Fribourg, who was valiantly attacking the heretics with his halberd, was slain.

A disastrous consequence of this Werli affair was that Fribourg made a sudden *volteface*, and came to terms with the bishop and with Savoy for the maintenance of the old faith in the town on the Rhone. At the instigation of Fribourg, Pierre de la Baume came once again to the town in 1533, but found so cool a reception that he left it after a fortnight, never to return. Geneva was placed in the most difficult situation by the conflicting demands of the two allies upon whose protection the town was dependent. While Fribourg insisted, under the threat of annulling the alliance, that all leanings towards heresy should be suppressed, Bern demanded, under the same threat, that the preaching of the Word of God should be tolerated and that the adherents of the new faith should be left unmolested. Under this pressure from the two allies, the Town Council vacillated between tolerance and persecution. Farel could venture to return to Geneva. Among the three hundred ecclesiastics of the episcopal town there was not one who was able to make head with spiritual weapons against the eloquent heretic. The Catholics summoned a learned French Dominican friar, Furbity by name, the violence of whose language exceeded even that of Farel and Froment. He once said in a sermon: "Beware of these heretics, these Germans, as of lepers and infected persons, hold no communion with them, never give them your daughters in marriage, but throw them rather to the dogs!" The Town Council having ordered Farel out of the town under pain of the gallows, there appeared simultaneously in January, 1534, in Geneva embassies from Bern and Fribourg respectively. The Fribourgers declared once for all that, if Geneva tolerated any other doctrine than the old Catholic faith, the alliance would be annulled. The Bernese em-

bassy came, with Farel, Froment and Pierre Viret in its train, declaring that these preachers were the servants of Berne. They demanded the exemplary punishment of the friar Furbity for insulting their faith; and, when the Council demurred, the envoys produced the charter of co-citizenship, with the request that the Genevese should cut off the seals of the town and should bring their own copy in order that the Bernese might detach the seals of Bern.

Thus the only thing open to the Genevese was a choice between Bern and Fribourg. For several weeks the Town Council, between Scylla and Charybdis, endeavoured to find some compromise, but in vain. The Bernese forced the arrest of Furbity, and so greatly alarmed the friar that he declared himself prepared to dispute with Farel and Viret. The disputation took place before the Town Council on January 29th and 30th. In the excitement of the parties a Protestant hat-maker was killed by a Catholic. The offender was seized in the cathedral of St Pierre, and under pressure from the Bernese embassy was executed as a murderer. Throughout the whole period, Farel and Viret continued to preach, at first in private houses, so that the Catholics mocked them by saying that they preached in pig-styes. Vainly did the Bernese demand that a church should be placed at the disposal of their preachers. At length Farel took by force what he was unable to secure by goodwill. On Sunday, March 1st, 1534, he and his followers forcibly occupied the chapel of the Franciscan monastery; and here was held the first Protestant service celebrated by the Reformers in Geneva in a consecrated building.

When the Bernese embassy withdrew, Farel remained in Geneva; and the Town Council lacked courage to expel him. Consequently Fribourg carried out its threat. This withdrawal of Fribourg from the alliance to which it had fifteen years before consented was a sign that Catholic Switzerland delivered Geneva over to Savoy. Although this once more involved Geneva in serious danger, the breach with Fribourg really cleared up the situation by necessitating a closer union with Bern and consequently with the Reformation. The number of Farel's adherents increased from day to day. The bishop threw himself completely into the arms of Savoy, and in the summer of 1534 declared open war against the town by summoning all good Catholics to leave it. But few obeyed the summons, the majority

remaining true to their duty as good Genevese. But suspicion rested upon them. An attempt to take the town by surprise in the night, made by the episcopal forces, led to a charge against Catholics of repute that they were in secret understanding with the enemy. One of them was executed for treason; while in the case of others, who had secured safety by flight, their goods were confiscated and their families were expelled from the town.

On May 30th, 1535, Farel secured the institution of a disputation, and gained an easy victory, since there was no adequate opposition. When the Town Council continued to hesitate, failing to draw the logical consequences, Farel, on August 8th, initiated image-breaking in the cathedral of St Peter; and this spread to the other churches of the town. On August 10th Farel appeared victoriously before the Great Council, and demanded the legal abolition of the papistical images. Once more the authorities requested the Catholic clergy to defend images and the mass; but the monastic ecclesiastics declared themselves unable to discuss the questions under dispute, since they had never considered these; while the secular priests refused, on the ground of episcopal instructions, to enter into any discussion upon matters of faith. Thus Genevese Catholicism passed its own death sentence. As a result of the image-breaking, the episcopal town became transformed into a Protestant republic; all other religious services than Protestant were forbidden. A portion of the clergy had already taken to flight; now came the general exodus. The vicar-general, the cathedral chapter, and the other ecclesiastical dignitaries, the monks, the nuns and the priests, in so far as they were unwilling to become Protestants, left the town. Touching was the departure of the Poor Clares, who, under the leadership of an energetic prioress, replied to all the urgent attempts to secure their conversion by the simple request that they should be permitted undisturbed passage to Savoy, which was respectfully accorded.

But the new order of affairs still lacked any guarantees of permanence. Duke Charles III could count upon the sympathies of the Catholic Confederates in his proceedings against the heretical town. Moreover, he felt himself to be supported by the Emperor Charles V, his brother-in-law and ally, so that the duke believed himself strong enough to throw over all regard for Bern. Since the image-breaking, the efforts of the enemies of Geneva had been

redoubled. Access to the town was cut off, more particularly by the episcopal castle of Peney; and the adherents of Geneva were robbed and murdered wherever an individual showed himself. Among the enemies of Geneva, together with the Savoyard nobles (the detested "Mamelukes") there were now numbered many Catholic Genevese. The struggle had developed into a religious war. "We are shut in here," wrote the Town Council on November 5th, 1535, "like poor prisoners, to whom no one sends not even a single word of consolation."

Nothing but help from Bern could save the blockaded town, but it seemed that this help was to be given only in words and never in deeds. Notwithstanding the very urgent appeals of the Genevese, Bern confined itself to negotiations and threats, however ineffective both were. The general situation of the world renders it easy to understand Bern's dilatory policy. No doubt there was little to be feared from the duke of Savoy, but behind the duke stood the formidable power of the Emperor. Zurich and Bern received warnings from Germany that the imperial forces, in alliance with Savoy, intended to take Geneva, and then to proceed against the Swiss towns. The negotiations between Charles V and Francis I in 1535 show clearly that the Emperor really intended such an intervention. He would have been prepared to cede the much-desired Milan to a son of Francis I upon the condition (among others) that the king should co-operate in the restoration of Catholicism and of the Savoyard power in Geneva. Thus Bern could not even feel sure that France also would not be among its enemies. Owing to the continually recurring religious disputes, civil war was always imminent in the Confederation; and Bern had good reason to fear, if it took up arms against Savoy, that the Catholic Cantons, instead of furnishing support, would attack it in the rear. In such conditions it was natural that Bern should endeavour to avoid war as long as possible.

The urgent appeals for help made by the Genevese, and the apparent inactivity of Bern, aroused the compassion of the Protestant people of West Switzerland. In October, 1535, a campaign was organised in Neuchâtel by volunteers. Under the leadership of a painter on glass named Jacob Wildermut, Neuchâtelois, Biennese and Bernese made their way from the lake district towards Geneva across a pathless region of the Jura, and at Gingins, at the

foot of the Dôle, gained a victory over a superior force of Savoyards. They were, however, persuaded to return home by the representations of a Bernese embassy.

Earnestly as Bern had endeavoured to prevent a premature outbreak of war, the town acted promptly enough when a foreign power actually threatened to establish itself in Geneva. In the middle of December, 1535, a French captain named Verey appeared in Geneva and offered the Town Council his king's help, asking merely in return that the king should receive the title of protector and that the town should recognise the royal prerogative of mercy. The Geneva Town Council did not fail to understand the significance of these apparently harmless demands. In Bern, the news of the French intentions stiffened the decision to intervene, for Bern had no desire that "so formidable a neighbour as the king would be at Geneva" should establish himself on this side of the Jura. On December 27th the Great Council determined upon war against Savoy, and in accordance with the provisions of the Kappel treaty, consulted the communes of the town and the rural districts as privately as possible. By January 13th, 1536, the communes had given their assent, and on the 16th war was declared.

The first aim of the war was the seizure of Vaud, which by the peace of St Julien had been pledged by Savoy for the safety of Geneva, and which had been forfeited through a breach of the treaty. On January 22nd the Bernese army, numbering 6000 men, set out under the command of the treasurer, Hans Franz Nägeli, an energetic warrior. In Morat the army was joined by reinforcements from Neuchâtel and Bienne, and in Payerne, a Savoyard town which had for a long time been allied with Bern, by further reinforcements from Payerne and by others from the Gruyère. The Savoyards were completely taken by surprise. Neither the duke nor his bailiff nor yet the Estates of Vaud had made any serious preparations for resistance. In the towns and castles of Vaud there was still a vivid memory of the terrible scenes of bloodshed that had characterised the first conquest of the country by the Swiss in 1475; so all that was now necessary (in entire contradistinction to what had happened in the earlier invasion) was a rapid and energetic conduct of the operations, for the Bernese to subdue the whole region almost without striking a blow. Even Moudon, the capital, surrendered at the first summons. Nägeli made a direct

attack upon Morges where the condottiere, Giangiacomo Medici, formerly castellan of Musso on the lake of Como, a renowned enemy of Switzerland, who had taken over the command of the Savoyard forces, had landed with 3000 Italian mercenaries, reinforced by the militia from Vaud and Chablais. But as soon as the Swiss troops came in sight, Medici, after a brief cavalry skirmish, fled across the lake with his flotilla, and his army dispersed in all directions. Morges, Rolle and Nyon surrendered. At Gex the garrison at first prepared to resist, but laid down its arms as soon as it became apparent that a serious attack was intended. On February 2nd Nägeli entered Geneva amid the rejoicings of the liberated inhabitants. A few days' rest was given to the troops, and the time was employed in laying waste and levying contributions on the neighbouring regions of Savoy. The Savoyard nobles on the southern shore of the lake from the Arve to the Drance were driven by terror to pay homage to the Bernese commander, in order to save their castles.

On February 5th, Nägeli advanced to St Julien, intending to carry the campaign into the heart of the hostile country as far as Chambéry. But when the bear was seen making so vigorous an onslaught, the desire awakened in the minds of others for a share of defenceless Savoy. Valais unfurled its war banner, in order to go halves with the Bernese, declaring to the enraged Five Cantons that it was forced to take this action lest all the country should be turned away from the old faith. The Bernese government sent instructions to its captains that they should not stand in the way of the desire of the Valaisans "to pluck also a quill from the goose." Consequently the Valaisans occupied without resistance the whole of Chablais as far as the Drance, which flows into the lake of Geneva between Thonon and Erian.

A far more dangerous enemy now appeared in the field against Savoy. The bold action of the Bernese incited Francis I to the conquest of Savoy. He sent an embassy to arrange with the Bernese commander for a formal co-operation. Nägeli had neither authority nor inclination for this; but he abandoned his advance upon Chambéry in order not to offer any obstacle to the French in their occupation of that region, and, after taking possession of the castle of La Cluse on the Rhone, whereby the conquest of the neighbourhood of Geneva was completed, he took the homeward road.

The enemy still possessed a strong position in the castle of Chillon,

and moreover the fate of Lausanne and its bishop was still undecided. After a short rest, Nägeli therefore undertook a second campaign. On March 27th, with the aid of a Genevese flotilla, he began the siege of Chillon; and the castle surrendered after two days. Thus was set at liberty the prisoner Bonivard, immortalised by Byron in his poem, who had been immured for six years in the castle. Here is still shown in one of the casemates the furrow in the floor which a prisoner chained to a pillar is said to have worn as he walked round and round. Bonivard later became the official historian of the Genevese republic.

Next came the reckoning with Sebastian of Montfaucon, the bishop of Lausanne, who, as was proved by an intercepted letter, had been zealously working on the side of Savoy. On April 1st, in the name of the town of Bern, Nägeli took possession at Lausanne of the castle and of all the temporal domains of the bishop.

Thus, in a bloodless war of three months' duration, Bern had conquered not Vaud alone but (recognising that for the safety of Vaud and Geneva it was necessary to hold the entire shore of the lake) in addition the Pays de Gex, a portion of the Genevois and Chablais—had conquered all this region, or had allowed Valais to occupy it. Vigorously did Bern set to work to establish itself permanently in the newly won territory, equal in extent to that which it had possessed before the war. But for this it was necessary to come to terms with a second Catholic partner. Since the rupture of the alliance Fribourg had played a vigorous part against Geneva with the Catholic Cantons and with Savoy. Now, however, envy was aroused in Fribourg by the easy conquests of the Bernese, and a desire was felt to share in the spoil. Bern favoured the inclination by offering to cede Romont and Rue to Fribourg. This pliancy was answered by a further claim to the effect that by the terms of the treaty of St Julien the entire half of Vaud together with Vevey and Chillon belonged to Fribourg. The Bernese were not so obliging as to yield the whole of this territory; but, after the matter had been submitted to the arbitrament of Zurich, Lucerne, Schwyz and Basel, Fribourg was given a considerable share, receiving Bulle, Estavayer and Surpierre, in addition to Romont and Rue.

The towns of Payerne and Lausanne were forced to recognise the overlordship of Bern, notwithstanding the alliance they had formerly concluded with Bern and Fribourg. Even in relation to

Geneva Bern advanced a claim, in virtue of the right of conquest, to the Savoyard vidomnate and to the sovereign rights of the bishop. It would have been quite impossible, without the aid of Geneva, to maintain the Bernese conquests on either shore of the lake; and it is therefore not surprising that the sober, practical politicians of the town on the Aar should think of making themselves permanently secure of Geneva by converting their friend into a "subject state." The Genevese, however, made the dignified answer that, if they had been willing to allow their town to be subject to any one at all, they would not have had to suffer so much; and the Bernese recognised that the use of force would serve merely to drive Geneva into the arms of France. They therefore contented themselves with adding to the treaty of co-citizenship (1526) a sealed promise that the town should remain open to them for all time to come, and that without their knowledge and consent Geneva should enter into no other alliance and appeal to none other for protection.

Ten bailiwicks were instituted in Vaud, and three in Gex, Ternier and Thonon. In each bailiwick a court of justice was constituted of natives of the district, under the presidency of the Bernese bailiff; and appeal could be made from this court to the Council of Bern. The lesser jurisdiction was left in the hands of the nobles, but from the outset the Bernese government had the intention to abolish serfdom, which was still general throughout Vaud. The city of Lausanne received an exceptional position, exercising both the greater and the lesser jurisdiction within the town limits, subject to the right of appeal to Bern.

The principal means at the disposal of the Bernese in order to knit the new territory to themselves and to detach it altogether from Savoy they found in a change of faith. For the present they provided for the unrestrained activity of the Protestant preachers, and above all for that of Pierre Viret, the most notable among the native-born Reformers of French Switzerland. Born in 1511 at Orbe, the son of a cloth-shearer, he was, from 1527 to 1530, a student in Paris, and there his faith in Catholicism was first shaken. Greatly disturbed in mind, the young priest returned to Orbe, where in 1531 he encountered Farel, and was by the latter completely won over to the side of the Reformation. Having now become an ardent apostle of the new faith, he preached in Orbe, Grandson and Payerne. In 1533 he was summoned to Neuchâtel as pastor, and

there displayed such brilliant eloquence that the Bernese took him with Farel and Froment to Geneva when the moment arrived to strike a blow on behalf of the Reformation in that town. After the conquest of Vaud he was urged to plant the gospel in Lausanne. The readiness of the Vaudois and the Savoyards to accept the creed patronised by their new sovereigns left much to be desired. Bern therefore adopted the cherished method of the disputation, in order to prove to them which was the right doctrine. On October 1st, 1536, Farel opened the debate in the cathedral of Lausanne in the presence of a numerous embassy from Bern. It is characteristic of the state of education of the old Church that in this episcopal see the Catholic clergy, who were present in hundreds, should have left the principal part in the defence to a layman, the physician Blancherose, and that the latter was fain to declare that the priests, instead of rallying to his assistance, left him in the lurch. At the close, the episcopal Vicar-General, in his turn, complained how badly the poor priests were being treated; it was necessary to have compassion upon their ignorance and to give them time to prepare their defence. Viret answered with justice: "You condemn yourselves when you excuse yourselves on the ground of ignorance!" It need hardly be said that such opponents were not capable of making defence against the champions Farel and Viret, who were always ready for refutation. In the background there already loomed the powerful figure of Calvin, who was present at the disputation but intervened twice only and very briefly. The issue of the week's disputation was that the advocates of the Reformation immediately started image-breaking in the beautiful cathedral. The wonder-working image of Our Lady, Notre Dame de Lausanne, to which pilgrimages had been made for hundreds of years, was destroyed. Priests and monks went over to Protestantism in large numbers; and the Town Council of Lausanne appointed Viret as preacher.

In the country districts too the change of faith was completely carried through. Wherever the communes failed to remove the images of their own free will this was done by the orders of the Bernese bailiffs, not in Vaud alone, but also in the Pays de Gex, the Genevois and Chablais. On December 24th, 1536, the Bernese government sanctioned the change of faith by a "Reformation edict" for their French-speaking territories. The rich possessions of the monasteries and the cathedral were divided between Bern

and Vaud; and therewith schools, hospitals and institutions for poor relief were founded. Bern devoted special attention to educational matters. Out of the public lectures of Viret and a boarding-school endowed by the Bernese in 1540, there grew the academy of Lausanne, at which such men as Conrad Gesner and Theodore Beza became professors. This was the first Protestant high school giving lectures in the French tongue. In 1558 it had seven hundred students. The Reformation soon took full possession of Vaud, and thereby the complete separation of the region from Savoy was effected, and its adhesion to Switzerland was secured.

CHAPTER XI

CALVIN IN GENEVA

A FEW months after the deliverance, on Sunday, May 21st, 1536, to the sound of bells and trumpets, the people of Geneva flocked to a popular assembly in which, with uplifted hands, an oath was taken that they would live united according to the Word of God and that they would for ever abandon the mass, images and other papistical practices. There was adopted unanimously a resolution relating to education whereby learned teachers were appointed, provision was made for the free instruction of the poor, and the duty was imposed upon all heads of families to send their children to school. By this introduction of compulsory education and of free education for the poor the people of Geneva expressed their conviction that universal popular instruction must be the foundation of the life of Protestant folk. Henceforward no deviation from the Reformation was tolerated in Geneva. Priests who said mass in secret were imprisoned. Councillors who would not attend the Protestant services, or who had their children baptised in the neighbouring Catholic districts, were expelled from the town. By stringent enactments the Council endeavoured to obviate the reproach that the new doctrines involved the dissolution of all moral bonds. Thus the consequences of the Reformation in Geneva were already in full progress when in July, 1536, there appeared within the walls of the town the man with whose name that of Geneva was henceforward to be associated in history, but who was a native of northern France—John Calvin.

Calvin was born on July 10th, 1509, at Noyon in Picardy. His father, an episcopal official, intended him for the priesthood; and in Paris he went to the Collège de la Marche, and subsequently to that of Montaigu, in which a few years later Ignatius Loyola was to receive impulses of so utterly diverse a nature. A strict and harsh tendency characteristic of the whole family was already noticeable in young Calvin. He pursued his studies with so much zeal that he outstripped all his fellow-students. Suddenly his father changed

his plans. Presumably in consequence of disputes in which he was involved with the ecclesiastical authorities of Noyon he sent instructions to his son to abandon theology for jurisprudence. Young Calvin reluctantly obeyed these orders, studied at the universities of Orléans and Bourges, whose legal faculties were widely celebrated, and in Orléans took his degree as licentiate. In May, 1531, the elder Calvin died, and the son could now follow his own inclinations. He returned to Paris, and Humanism now occupied the chief place in his studies. His first entry into public life was in 1532, when he was twenty-three years of age, with the issue of a commentary on Seneca, a notable philological achievement. There now seemed to open before him a brilliant career as a Humanist, when a profound revolution took place in the mind of the young and learned man, the theologian and the Reformer gaining the victory over the Humanist.

For a considerable time past his belief in the Catholic Church had been shaken; in part from personal experience, for his father had died excommunicated. It was impossible that an intelligence so powerful as his could remain indifferent in the great religious disputes which in France as elsewhere were attracting increasing attention, and it was Calvin's custom to probe matters to the bottom.

> As if by a sudden ray of light I now recognised, as my mind was already prepared for earnest examination, in what an abyss of errors, in what a profundity of filth, I had hitherto been plunged. Now, therefore, O Lord, I did what was my duty, and fearlessly, condemning with tears my earlier life, I followed in Thy footsteps.

Calvin took part in the secret assemblies of the small Protestant community in Paris, and notwithstanding his youth he became its intellectual chief. His fiery apostle-like nature urged him to bear public testimony to the truth that he had recognised. Opportunity was afforded in October, 1533, by the election of one of his friends, Nicholas Cop the physician, as rector of the University of Paris. Calvin composed for Cop the speech which in accordance with time-honoured custom the newly elected rector had to deliver on All Saints' Day, putting into his mouth a bold challenge to the theologians of the Sorbonne and to Catholicism in general. The speech attracted a great deal of attention. The Parlement of Paris instituted an enquiry; Cop fled to Basel; while Calvin led the uncertain life of a fugitive in France, in continual danger of arrest.

Towards the close of 1534 Francis I himself began to burn heretics; and thereupon Calvin fled to Strassburg, and in the early days of 1535 came to Basel. Living in retirement here he completed the work which was in a moment to make his name famous, the *Institutio Religionis Christianae*. Calvin completed the preface on August 23rd, and in May, 1536, the book was published at Basel. This moderate-sized octavo volume (about 500 pages), the work of a young man twenty-six years of age, was not merely Calvin's chief literary production, but was the leading theological treatise of Reformation days in general.

The works of Luther and Zwingli had been mainly polemical and critical, and these writers gave no more than the beginnings of a dogmatic system. It was Calvin who first built up the framework of Protestant doctrine, and he did this with a boldness and a logical consistency of thought, with a far-seeing arrangement of materials and a sublimity of expression, which make his work the classic of Protestantism. The very preface, dedicated to Francis I, was a masterpiece, an admirable apology for the new doctrines which the king was persecuting with fire and sword.

Calvin first formulated the articles of faith which seemed to him to be matters of immediate certainty, and from these axioms he deduced with pitiless logic the rest of his doctrinal system, including that terrible doctrine of predestination which gave to strict Calvinism its characteristic stamp. Calvin's *Institutio* contains sections which are among the most beautiful and most profound passages that have ever been written upon religious matters; and yet as we read the book we cannot fail to receive a gloomy impression. This is not only on account of the dogma of predestination, according to which from the beginning of time men have been divided into the elect and the reprobate, but also on account of the tone of absolute infallibility and measureless violence against opponents. Yet this spirit of infallible certainty, which to-day offends and repels, was in Calvin's time one of the reasons of his colossal success. He carried people away and subdued them. Edition followed edition, each one enlarged and improved. The book was translated into almost all European tongues; it appeared in epitomised forms; it was celebrated in poems as a work which should be placed beside the New Testament. By the Catholics it was cursed as the Koran or the Talmud of heresy. No book of the epoch of the Reformation

was more admired, dreaded, and hated, than Calvin's brilliant textbook of faith.

When the work was through the press Calvin went to Italy to the court of the duchess Renée of Ferrara, who was inclined to the new ideas, but he could not settle there. Returning to France, he wished to pass thence by way of Geneva to Basel or Strassburg, intending to stay no more than one night in Geneva. Farel heard by chance of his presence in the town, and at once determined to keep him as a fellow-worker. Late in the evening Farel came to the inn and spoke to Calvin with so much weight that the latter agreed to take up his residence in Geneva. At first he gave lectures upon Holy Writ and subsequently was appointed preacher at the cathedral of St Pierre.

At this time Calvin was a man of twenty-seven, of small stature and with a haggard and sickly countenance; it was only his penetrating eyes, overshadowed by a powerful brow, which produced an impression. But his intellectual power, his learning and eloquence, and above all the iron energy of his will, soon made themselves felt. Farel, who was twenty years older than Calvin, conceived for him an almost superstitious veneration, consulting him upon everything, and venturing upon no steps without his advice. Thus, with the rude zeal of Farel, there was now associated Calvin's methodical spirit of organisation. To Calvin it seemed that the condition of the Church of Geneva was still far removed from that of an orderly ecclesiastical institution. He regarded a clear and universally obligatory confession of faith as an indispensable foundation. Within a few months of his arrival the two preachers submitted to the Town Council a Confession of twenty-one articles, together with a memorial upon the organisation of the Church, wherein the excommunication of unrepentant sinners played the principal part; this being a great contrast with the ideas of Zwingli, who, on principle, had rejected excommunication. The Town Council agreed to the demands of the preachers, and the magistrates went from house to house, in order to make everyone adhere to the Confession upon oath. This compulsion, however, encountered a vigorous resistance. It was not merely the secret Catholics and Anabaptists, but also many upright Protestants, who were unwilling to have any formula of belief imposed upon them by the State. In the elections of February, 1538, the opponents of religious

coercion gained the upper hand in the Councils; and the situation became yet further strained owing to differences which arose between the Church of Geneva and the sister Churches in Switzerland. In his zeal to abolish papistical ceremonies, Farel had gone far beyond Zwingli, doing away with the last remaining feast-days (Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday), removing the fonts from the churches, and introducing ordinary bread for the Lord's Supper. For political reasons the Council now commanded that for all these matters the same rule should be followed as in Bern and the other Swiss Churches. Calvin and Farel refused to obey, whereupon the Council forbade them to preach. Despite this, they entered the pulpit at Easter, but on account of the public disorder they refused to administer the Lord's Supper. The Council would not submit to this defiance, but summoned a general assembly of the citizens which on April 23rd, 1538, ordered the two foreign preachers to quit the town within three days.

Farel found a permanent home in Neuchâtel, which had been converted by his exertions; while Calvin accepted a call to become preacher to the French refugees in Strassburg. He remained three years in the Alsatian capital, becoming a burgher of the city, marrying there, and gaining continually more renown as a pastor and a man of learning. Through the mediation of Bucer he entered into relations with Melanchthon, and even with Luther, for in the controversy about the Eucharist he took an intermediate position, analogous to that of the Strassburg Reformers. Meanwhile, however, he did not lose sight of Geneva.

By chance it happened that among the preachers who remained behind in Geneva there was no notable personality, so that the removal of Calvin and Farel left a spiritual blank which was felt the more keenly the longer it lasted. The expulsion of the two Reformers even encouraged the Catholics to attempt the reconquest of the town. The talented cardinal Sadolet compiled an open letter to the Genevese, urgently exhorting them to return to the bosom of the bereaved Mother Church. The Genevese authorities received the letter and expressed their thanks; the secret Catholics in the town cherished joyful hopes on this account; and no one was found in Geneva to attempt a reply to Sadolet's letter. But there now appeared an answer written by Calvin, one of his most brilliant polemical writings; and the effect of this in Geneva

was decisive in a twofold sense. There was no longer any talk of a Catholic reaction; at the same time there was awakened a yearning for this vigorous soldier of God who had so brilliantly displayed his affection for his old congregation. It happened, in addition, that the party which had expelled the two preachers had compromised itself in the eyes of the burghers by excessive pliancy towards Bern in certain neighbourly quarrels. The consequence was that in the elections of the spring of 1540 the adherents of the two preachers gained the majority. On June 6th a sanguinary fight took place between the inflamed factions, in which the captain-general, Jean Philippe, one of Calvin's principal opponents, heated with wine, took part with ill-advised passion. All the wrath of the victorious party was directed against him; a prosecution was instituted; and he was executed for conspiracy and murder.

The new holders of power strove zealously to secure Calvin's return. At first the Reformer displayed a certain disinclination to come back, but he yielded when the Great Council, the Small Council, and the general assembly of the citizens vied one with another to make his return as honourable as possible. On September 13th, 1541, he re-entered Geneva amid loud popular rejoicings. The man who made this ceremonial return occupied a very different position from the homeless fugitive of five years earlier. Since then his figure in the world had become far more imposing, but his sense of self-importance and his severity had notably increased.

The day after his arrival Calvin expounded to the Council the measures that were necessary to reduce the confusion of the Church to order. So there began in Geneva that typical ecclesiastical legislation which was to make the town the kingdom of God on earth. With a few faithful adherents in the Council Calvin drew up his celebrated "Ordinances." These were then revised by the Councils and adopted by the general assembly of the citizens. In theory Calvin recognised the right of the community to elect its preachers, but in reality the ecclesiastical corporation, the "Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs," filled vacancies in its own body, subject to the approval of the Council and the tacit assent of the people. The pastors met once a week to exercise a common disciplinary supervision, and to consult about all the affairs of the Church. In actual fact it was Calvin who completely dominated the Venerable Com-

pany by the might of his intelligence and his will. It was the same with the supreme ecclesiastical authority, the "Consistory," which was responsible for the discipline of the Church. This body was composed of the pastors and of twelve elders appointed by the Small Council, two being members of the Small Council, four of the Council of Sixty, and six of the Council of Two Hundred. This Consistory, which met every Thursday, had to see that the burghers and their families attended church regularly and to supervise them in matters of faith and conduct. Each elder was in charge of a district, in which he had annually to visit every family, and to ascertain (in case of need by examination of the children and the servants) whether any secret infringement of the regulations was going on. The attention of the Consistory was directed first of all to expressions of religious opinion, and then to gaming, cursing, and to all kinds of excesses. In cases of secret offences, the elder first admonished the sinner in private; but, if this proved insufficient, he was summoned before the Consistory. In case of notorious vice or falling away from the faith the offender was immediately summoned before the Consistory. Those who proved stubborn were excommunicated. Exclusion from the Lord's Supper was the only direct punishment that the Consistory could impose, but those who were considered to require further chastisement were denounced to the secular authorities, who ordered appropriate corporal punishment.

Thus, according to Calvin, the purpose of the State was to secure purity both of doctrine and of morals, since to think wrongly and to act wrongly were alike rebellion against God. The moral laws enacted under his influence exceeded in severity anything effected in such matters in the other Swiss towns. Harmless pleasures, dancing, popular and family festivals, were declared to be offences against morality; and in 1546 the attempt was even made to close the taverns and to replace them by state eating-houses provided with Bibles. In the same year Calvin put forth a prohibition of religious plays in Geneva, though Zwingli had introduced Greek comedies in Zurich, and Bullinger had himself written dramas.

It will readily be understood that among the free-spirited and passionate population of Geneva this moral legislation, and the consequent vexatious supervision by the Consistory of the public and private life of every individual, provoked resistance. It was

above all the Genevese of the old school, who had freed the town from duke and bishop, that revolted against the theocratic régime, which seemed to them an intolerable tyranny. But Calvin was not the man to dread a fight. Of all the Reformers his was perhaps the keenest intelligence, but he was unquestionably the most intolerant. Whoever insulted him was a blasphemer, whoever resisted his moral discipline was an outcast. One of the councillors, Pierre Ameaux, who in his private dwelling had spoken of Calvin as a false doctor and a bad man, was condemned in 1546 to appear in a penitent's shift in the principal squares of the town, and there, upon his knees, to make open confession of his error. Jacques Gruet, the Secretary of State, was arrested in 1547 on account of an abusive letter written to one of Calvin's colleagues. When a search was made at his house, papers were discovered upon which Gruet had penned free-thinking ideas, and he was accordingly executed as an atheist.

Calvin was no respecter of persons; and his freedom from partisanship in this matter gave his system a certain popularity. Ami Perrin, captain-general and syndic, was one of those who had worked most zealously for Calvin's return. Nevertheless, his wife was sent to prison for having taken part in a dance, and because she spoke her mind freely about her punishment she was forced to flee the country. Perrin's father-in-law, the rich councillor, François Favre, who said openly to the Consistory that he troubled himself little about the French preachers, was expelled the town. Thus was the friendship between Perrin and Calvin broken off. In 1547 the Calvinists even endeavoured to destroy the syndic by accusing him of a treasonable plot with France; but Bern, where Perrin had had himself enrolled as a burgher, insisted on the quashing of the trial.

While the old-time Genevese, under the leadership of Ami Perrin, drifted further and further from Calvin, the latter found fresh supporters among the innumerable religious refugees who streamed into Geneva from all directions, and who were for the most part enthusiastic adherents of Calvin. Many of them obtained the burghership of the city, and were then able to help to out-vote Calvin's opponents; and for this reason the adverse party did their utmost to render the acquirement of citizenship a difficult matter. The struggle of the factions became more and more passionate. After the Perrinists and the Calvinists had for a time been fairly

well balanced, the latter party got the upper hand in the elections of 1555. On May 16th in this year, owing to the heat of popular feeling, there occurred a nocturnal riot; and the Calvinists, magnifying this into an attempt at revolt on the part of their opponents, seized the opportunity of instituting a trial for high-treason. Four of the Perrinists, among whom was Daniel Berthelier, a son of the martyr in the case of freedom, were tortured and executed; Ami Perrin and many of his followers escaped the same fate only through flight. About a hundred old Genevese families emigrated, to elude the oppressions of the victorious party.

If Calvin proceeded with such severity against men who in religious matters would have been guided by him entirely, and were in revolt merely against the ecclesiastical régime which stifled all personal freedom, what could those expect who differed from him in matters of faith, and who were so imprudent as to make open proclamation of the fact? Sebastian Castellion from Bugey in Bresse, a distinguished philologist and translator of the Bible, chief of the town school in Geneva, had to abandon his position because he had declared the Song of Solomon to be a love-song and because he interpreted a passage in the Apostles' Creed in a different sense from Calvin. Hieronymus Bolsec, formerly a Carmelite friar in Paris, was in 1551 imprisoned and then expelled from Geneva because he had ventured to attack Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Of all the victims of Calvin's intolerance the one most to be regretted was the brilliant Spaniard, Michael Servetus. Coming to Germany in the train of Charles V, Servetus had there published against the doctrine of the Trinity two works which had aroused a storm of disapprobation among Protestants no less than among Catholics. To evade the dangers which he had thus drawn upon his head, Servetus undertook the practice of medicine in France under the name of Michel de Villeneuve. He published medical treatises, through which he acquired reputation as an original investigator, and more especially has been regarded as the real discoverer of the circulation of the blood. At the same time he continually mixed himself up with theological disputes, and from Vienne, where he had settled as a physician, he endeavoured by letter to win over Calvin to his ideas. His success in this matter may be judged from an epistle written by Calvin to Farel: "Should Servetus ever come to Geneva, I should take care that he did not

leave the place alive." In the beginning of 1553 Servetus published a new work, *Christianismi Restitutio*, in which he denied the divinity of Christ, and declared the devil and hell to be mere symbols.

Holding such ideas, the Spanish man of learning differed more widely from the Reformers than these differed from the Catholics, and Calvin, who felt that Servetus' teaching threatened to push the whole of Christendom into an abyss, did not hesitate by devious ways to denounce to the Inquisition at Lyons the physician Michel de Villeneuve as the author of the widely celebrated writings of Servetus. To avoid arrest by the familiars of the Inquisition, Servetus fled to Geneva, where Calvin immediately had him seized and accused. The Perrinists vainly endeavoured to save the unfortunate man. At Calvin's instigation the Town Council sought the opinion of the Swiss Churches. None of the answers contained a direct demand for the execution of Servetus, but all were couched in such a way as to approve in advance of the condemnation of the blasphemer. Servetus scorned to save his life by recantation. Consequently he was condemned by the Council of Geneva for denial of the Trinity and of the divinity of Christ; and the terrible sentence of death by fire was carried out on October 27th, 1553.

It almost seemed as if the whole of Protestantism gave its blessing to this burning of a heretic in Geneva. Bullinger, in other respects so gentle, approved the execution of the blasphemer, if not the actual method of his death; and this view was shared by the great majority of the Reformers. Melanchthon wrote to Calvin: "I assure you that your magistrates have acted justly, in that they have destroyed this blasphemer by means of a regular legal process." Yet there were not wanting numerous protests from those who contended that Protestantism was treading in the footsteps of the Roman Inquisition. The Bernese town secretary, Zurkinden, a friend and admirer of Calvin, was bold enough to write to him, saying: "We can do nothing more agreeable to the Papists, after we have exposed their fury to general reprobation, than now to revive this work of the public executioner in our own household." In Basel the trial aroused almost universal disapproval. The news of the widespread censure induced Calvin to write a work in his own justification, in which he directed heavy blows against the advocates of religious freedom, and with the logical acumen of which he was master deduced the right and the duty of authority to execute heretics and

blasphemers. But it was Calvin's heavy artillery which first brought the friends of tolerance out into the open. There was now published, undoubtedly in Basel, a brilliant defence of tolerance. The author's pseudonym was Martin Bellius, but there can be no doubt that the book was chiefly composed by Sebastian Castellion, who had now gained a respected position as professor of Greek in Basel. Beza, the most intimate of Calvin's friends, endeavoured in a comprehensive rejoinder to effect the *reductio ad absurdum* of the arguments of Martin Bellius. But the advocates of freedom of thought did not remain silent. Under the pseudonym of Vaticanus, Castellion wrote a second work, wherein he exclaimed, in answer to the Protestants who defended the execution of heretics: "We do not vindicate a doctrine by killing a man," and again, "The vindication of a doctrine is the affair of the man of learning, not of the magistrate." This new work could not, indeed, be printed in Castellion's life-time, and was first published in the Netherlands in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Besides Castellion, a number of Italian refugees on account of their faith, such as Celio Curioni, Camillo Renato, Mino Celsi, etc., played an honourable part in this first great literary struggle which was fought upon Swiss soil on behalf of the principle of individual freedom in matters of faith and conscience, a principle upon which the future of Protestantism in truth depended. Thus it was that the flames in which the body of Servetus was consumed illumined the dawn of a better day.

After the destruction of the Perrinists there was no longer any articulate opposition to Calvin's régime. The Reformer subjected Geneva to his iron-handed discipline, and for centuries impressed upon the town the stamp of his own character; it was through him, on the other hand, that Geneva became the much admired "Protestant Rome," a name by which it has become renowned in history. Nowhere in the world is there a parallel to the moral rigour which here prevailed. Whilst in Romance countries adultery was the fashion, in Geneva it was a capital offence, men being punished by decapitation and women by drowning. The fame of the Calvinistic moral discipline was widely diffused by the refugees, who were drawn from all countries as by a magnet to the wonderful town from which the light of the Gospel shone with such power into the papistical desert. Religious services were held regularly in Geneva in Italian and English as well as in French. It was from among the

refugees that the gaps were filled which were made in the ranks of the old Genevese bourgeoisie by the successive expulsions of the Mamelukes, the Catholics and the Perrinists. On October 14th, 1557, as many as two hundred Frenchmen, fifty Englishmen, twenty-five Italians and four Spaniards were accepted as "*habitants*." The most celebrated Genevese families, such as those of de Candolle, Colladon, Turretini, Eynard, etc., have sprung from religious refugees.

The world-wide influence of Calvin can be touched upon here only in outline. "Nothing in Europe was safe from the fiery brand with which he set everything in flames." It was from his Protestant fortress in Geneva that the French Reformer endeavoured to snatch the world from the papacy. His letters and counsels, his writings and missionaries, were despatched in all directions. Never since Luther had anyone directed such mighty blows against Rome as did Calvin and his collaborators. The centre of gravity of the Protestant movement had been transferred from Wittenberg and Zurich to Geneva.

Bullinger recognised the Genevese Reformer as the chosen continuer of the work of Zwingli. Since in the question of the Eucharist Calvin, though he endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the Lutherans, was in the main in harmony with the views of Zwingli, it was easy for him, together with Bullinger, to accept at Zurich in 1549 a confession of faith, the so-called Consensus of Zurich. Thus Zwinglianism became absorbed into Calvinism. The delicate matter of the doctrine of the Eucharist was formulated by Calvin in such a manner as might, he hoped, render it possible to bridge the chasm between his followers and the Lutherans. Melanchthon, who had long been exchanging ideas with Calvin, would gladly have met him half-way; but the contentious Saxon theologians, regarding themselves as the true disciples of Luther, rejected Calvin's formula as a trap and thus rendered impossible the union of all the Protestants. The separation between the Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church continued to exist; and the differences between the two became ever more embittered through the influence of the *odium theologicum*.

Under Calvin's masterful leadership, however, the Reformed Swiss Church extended victoriously in all directions. German princes, such as the Elector Palatine, Frederic III, openly adhered

to it, and Heidelberg became a Calvinistic university. In Poland and in Hungary the "Helvetic Confession" gained numerous adherents. The apostles of Calvin traversed the Netherlands and in that land initiated the struggle for religious and political freedom which led to the constitution of the Dutch Republic. One of the leaders in the movement for freedom in the Netherlands, Marnix de St Aldegonde, was a personal pupil of Calvin and of Beza; and the university of Leyden founded by William of Orange in the middle of the war was Calvinistic.

The island kingdoms of Britain also entered into close relationship with the Swiss Reformation. Henry VIII addressed himself to the Swiss Reformers, hoping to secure from them an authoritative opinion in favour of the dissolution of his marriage with Catharine of Aragon. Archbishop Cranmer exchanged letters with Vadianus, Bullinger and Calvin. Hooper, subsequently bishop of Gloucester, was won over to the side of the Reformation by the writings of Zwingli and Bullinger, and lived for a time as a fugitive in Zurich, where he formed a close friendship with Bullinger and where he had his works printed. Hooper returned to England in 1549, to receive high ecclesiastical office under Edward VI, but continued to apply to Bullinger for advice upon all important religious questions. The duke of Suffolk and his daughter, the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, wrote letters to Bullinger filled with respect. Calvin vied with Bullinger as adviser of the English Reformers. He corresponded with Protector Somerset; and Edward VI asked his advice on the improvement of the Church of England. It is distinctive of the close relations of the English and the Swiss Reformation that, subsequently to the printing of an English Bible by Froschauer in Zurich in 1550, another English Bible appeared in Geneva. This "Geneva Bible" was for a long time the favourite English translation, and ran through seventy editions in as many years.

When the persecution of the English Protestants broke out under Mary, and Cranmer, Hooper and countless others suffered death by fire, Switzerland became the principal asylum for the English refugees. One of these, John Bale, bishop of Ossory, in the preface to a book printed at Basel in 1558, dedicated to Simon Sulzer, Bullinger, Calvin and Melanchthon, as the leaders of the Churches of Basel, Zurich, Geneva and Wittenberg, wrote:

It is from your Churches and writers that I have learned almost every-

thing that I teach here. Not only do I treasure and esteem your Churches as the mainsprings of the pure religion which in hidden channels has flowed to all quarters of the world and even to us across the ocean, but we English refugees, above all, owe you thanks for the great benefits you have conferred on us.

One after another, Bale commends Wittenberg, the most beautiful centre of the sciences; Basel with its numerous distinguished men of learning; Zurich "always the shelter of all refugees, the fairest academy of the most learned theologians, and at the same time an oracle for the Christian world"; and, finally, Geneva, the new Paris or London, the new world-market to which everything streams to exchange the heavenly for the earthly, where Spaniards, Italians, Scotsmen, Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans, are united in bonds of Christian love under the incomparable shepherd, Calvin.

The coming of Elizabeth to the throne did not put an end to the spiritual intercourse between England and Switzerland. Many of the refugees who had found asylum in Zurich, Basel and Geneva, rose under Elizabeth to the highest offices of the Church, and remained in correspondence with the Swiss theologians. The letters exchanged by the latter with English bishops and statesmen fill many volumes. A pleasing memorial of these relations is constituted by the silver goblets which were sent by the Englishmen to their friends in Zurich for use in their ceremonial meetings. In the Swiss National Museum there is still preserved one such goblet presented to Bullinger in 1560 by Queen Elizabeth, bearing the inscription:

Anglorum exsilium Tigurina Ecclesia fovit
Sub Mariae Sceptris; id sancte agnovit Elisa,
Et Bullingerum hoc donavit munere pocli.

Notwithstanding its episcopal constitution, the Church of England regarded herself as a member of the Reformed community, and took part in 1618 in the great Reformed synod at Dordrecht. The powerful party of the Puritans, however, was not contented with the mere acceptance of Calvinist dogma, but endeavoured also to secure the introduction of its outward forms, and transplanted these across the ocean to America.

The Scottish Reformer, John Knox, was one of the religious refugees who sought asylum in Switzerland. In Geneva, he was pastor to the English refugees, and formed an intimate friendship

with Calvin. Knox regarded the Genevese Church as "the best school for a Christian which has ever existed on earth since the days of the Apostles." When he returned home in 1559, he transferred the Genevese institutions to Scotland, and therewith founded the Presbyterian Church.

Calvin's principal aim was ever the conversion of his native country, France. Notwithstanding the severest persecution, he succeeded in founding the Protestant Church of France. "It is wonderful," writes a Catholic, "how his emissaries found their way into our prisons filled with poor perverts, entering there despite all our watchfulness; how he succeeded in exhorting and confirming them unceasingly by his letters, bringing even the most timorous spirits to confront the most painful of deaths with joy." Communes, pastors, noblemen and princes were guided by Calvin's advice. Among his correspondents we find the names of King Anthony of Navarre and his wife Jeanne D'Albret, the Prince of Condé, Admiral Coligny and his brothers. It was from Geneva that French Protestantism received its doctrines, its laws and its name. It was chiefly in order to provide France with preachers that in 1559 Calvin founded a high school, the academy of Geneva, which at the time of his death had already 1500 students, of whom two-thirds were French.

In this way the Swiss Church founded by Zwingli was by Calvin's deliberate and restless activity enlarged so as to constitute a European religious community. By his excessive labours, and by the violent emotions which were aroused in Calvin's mind by the party struggles in Geneva and the varying fortunes of the Huguenots in France, the vigorous man was worn out before his time. Active to the last moment despite illness, he died on May 27th, 1564.

Calvin is among all the Reformers the one whom the present is inclined to judge most unfavourably. His doctrine of predestination, which in the seventeenth century was regarded as the only dogma of the Reformed Church necessary to salvation, is to-day hardly maintained even by the orthodox. The Puritan strictness of morals which he enforced conflicts too strongly with the modern sentiment of freedom for us to be able to regard it as a special service to mankind. The terrorism with which he crushed his opponents in Geneva fills us with indignation; and the burning of Servetus will always cast a dark shadow on his name. Yet his

powerful influence upon his fellows would be inexplicable had he not possessed that genuine piety and warmth of heart to which his letters and other writings bear abundant testimony. Above all, however, his intellectual greatness is incontestable; Calvin was a man of learning, a thinker, and a writer of the first rank. Just as Luther was the creator of the new High German tongue, so Calvin, although he gave his mother-tongue no more than a subordinate place, was one of the great masters of French prose.

Calvin's place was taken by Theodore Beza, a cultured man of noble birth from Vézelay in Burgundy. He came to Switzerland as a refugee in 1548, was professor of Greek at the academy of Lausanne, and in 1559 became the first rector of the academy of Geneva. In speech and writing Beza was the most active of Calvin's assistants. He knew well how to conduct himself among the great ones of this world; and for this reason Calvin gladly employed him as a negotiator. In 1561, when Catherine of Medici was endeavouring to secure a compromise among the religious parties by means of the Conference of Poissy, Beza was the clearly indicated representative of the Reformers, whose cause he advocated with brilliant logic. When the Wars of Religion broke out he accompanied the prince of Condé as army chaplain. After the conclusion of the first peace he returned to Geneva, and on the death of Calvin he became the recognised head of the Reformed Churches of France and Geneva. By no means a brilliant man, but a man of great talent, extensive knowledge, and unwearied powers of work, Beza seemed expressly created to safeguard Calvin's heritage.

At the time of Calvin's death serious dangers were once again threatening Geneva. Duke Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, son and successor of Charles III, was a dangerous enemy to the town. This prince, at first without a country, had in the service of Philip II acquired great renown as a military leader by his victory over the French at St Quentin, and in the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis he had secured the restoration of his hereditary dominions and the hand of the sister of the king of France. With the diplomatic support of France and Spain, Emanuel Philibert now demanded his hereditary territory which Bern had torn away from Savoy in 1536, and thus prepared new troubles for Geneva. For a moment it seemed as if the Catholic world were going to unite for the destruction of this "sink and pit of heresies," as Cardinal Granvelle

named Geneva. After the conclusion of the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis, King Henry II of France arranged with the Spanish negotiator, the duke of Alba, for a joint movement against the "breeding-ground of corruption." The Pope declared himself prepared to give financial support to the undertaking; and duke Emanuel Philibert burned with eagerness to start the campaign against Geneva. Alba and Granvelle, however, counselled their king against the project, for in the minds of the Spanish politicians their hatred of the town of Calvin was counterbalanced by consideration for the difficulty of defending Franche-Comté. They regarded the Swiss as the indispensable protectors of this isolated province against France. Any step taken to effect a breach of the perpetual league with the Swiss, wrote Granvella, would be the manifest destruction of Franche-Comté, "for the mere name of the Swiss has to this day served to defend that country against France." So great was still the prestige of the Swiss as warriors that the alliance between Geneva and Bern sufficed to dissuade the greatest power in Europe from a crusade against the heretical town.

Had Switzerland been united it would have been an easy matter to maintain possession of the whole of the domains round the lake of Geneva, which had been conquered in 1536. The Catholic Cantons, however, did not merely reject a proposal of Geneva to enlarge its alliance with Bern into an alliance with the Confederation as a whole, but they further in 1560 concluded a separate alliance with duke Emanuel Philibert, wherein they recognised his claims to Geneva and Vaud, receiving in return a secret pledge of support in the event of any religious war. In these circumstances Bern thought it necessary to yield a step before the duke. By a treaty concluded at Lausanne in 1564, Bern ceded to the duke its conquests on the south shore of the lake, and also the Pays de Gex, Savoy definitely renouncing all claim to Vaud with Vevey and Chillon. At the instigation of Bern, the kings of France and Spain expressed their approval of this treaty; little did the Bernese think that two hundred and thirty-four years later this formality was to furnish revolutionary France with an excuse for the invasion of Switzerland. Soon after the Bernese dominion on the southern shore of the lake had come to an end, the Valais was compelled, in 1569, in a treaty signed at Thonon, to withdraw within its present boundaries.

Thus, the region surrounding Geneva passed once more into the hands of the hereditary enemy of the town; and the treaty of Lausanne stipulated on behalf of Geneva for a truce merely, not for a peace. The repeated attempts of the Genevese to safeguard their position, by enlarging their alliance into one with the Confederates in general, were wrecked by the refusal of the Catholic Cantons, which, having a majority in the Swiss Diet, were also able to forbid Glarus, Basel and Schaffhausen from giving assistance to Geneva. There thus remained Zurich alone; and in 1584 Zurich, Bern and Geneva formed a perpetual league. Thus, Geneva did not properly become an "Ally" of the Confederation, but merely an ally of the two most powerful Confederated Cantons. France had an interest, no less than Zurich and Bern, in seeing that Geneva, the important fortress on the Rhone, should not fall into the hands of Savoy, for Savoy was almost always allied to the house of Habsburg, the hereditary enemy of France. Consequently in 1579 France signed with Bern a perpetual treaty for the protection of Geneva, which carried with it this disadvantage, that it gave a dangerous neighbouring power the right of having a word to say in Genevese affairs.

CHAPTER XII

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

THE REFORMATION is commonly regarded as the special fruit of the German spirit; and it is true that, when the reforming movement became arrested, the Teutonic world and Protestantism, the Latin world and Catholicism, were identified in the matter of religion. Switzerland, however, constitutes a noteworthy exception in this respect. Whilst the genuinely Teutonic elements of Central Switzerland constituted a firm barrier against the ecclesiastical revolution, the Latin region of West Switzerland accepted the Reformation almost without resistance. In the same way after the Kappel wars, Protestantism conquered the principal valley of the Latin Grisons, the Engadine, as well as the Italian Val Bregaglia. In Chiavenna, too, and in the Valtelline there were numerous Protestants, although here the majority of the population remained attached to the old faith. The secret adherents of the Reformation were reinforced by the refugees who fled from Italy through fear of the Inquisition, seeking asylum in Raetia, among whom were persons of note, such as the former nuncio, Vergerio. Chiavenna, the Valtelline, Poschiavo and the Val Bregaglia were the only regions where the Italian language was spoken in which the Roman Inquisition was forced to stay its hand, in consequence of the laws of toleration established by the Grisons government and where it was even possible to set up printing-presses for the diffusion of heretical writings.

In Locarno, also, there was a congregation of Protestants, numbering among its members representatives of the leading families of Muralt, Orelli, Duno, etc. Upon the denunciation of the bailiffs from the Catholic Cantons, these Cantons determined, in virtue of their majority in the Confederation, to proceed against heresy. The Reformed Cantons rallied to the side of their threatened friends; but from a legal point of view the Protestant's position was a very difficult one, since, according to the letter of the peace of Kappel, existence was guaranteed for Protestant congregations in the "common bailiwicks" only in cases where these congregations had been

already established when the peace was concluded, whereas the Protestant congregation of Locarno did not come into being until after that date. The result was that the Catholic Cantons determined to leave the matter to be decided by war, while the Reformed Cantons shrank from such a venture. Consequently the Protestants of Locarno had to leave their homes in the winter of 1555. About two hundred of them crossed the Alps and came to Zurich, where they were hospitably received, although the town was already crowded with German and English refugees. The Locarno men repaid this hospitality by reviving the silk industry, which had flourished in Zurich so far back as the middle ages, but had become extinct. Some of them went to Basel, and established themselves as ribbon-weavers, in conjunction with immigrant Huguenots.

Through the Council of Trent, at which the Catholic Cantons were represented by an embassy, and whose decrees they formally accepted in 1564, the Roman Church was filled with new energy, establishing a Catholic Reformation in opposition to that of the Protestants. New orders were founded, those of the Jesuits and the Capuchins, constituting a Catholic militia which delighted in conflict. A series of distinguished Popes made use of their authority for a relentless fight against the heretics, but also in order to carry out certain reforms recognised as essential, and above all to secure the better education of the clergy and a higher level of morality in this body. Various men of exceptional endowments devoted all their energies to this regeneration of Catholicism. Among these was Carlo Borromeo, in whom the Counter-Reformation may be said to be incorporated, and who also led Catholic Switzerland into new paths. Born in 1538, a son of Count Gilberto Borromeo, at the castle of Arona on Lago Maggiore, he was thus the member of a family which had for long been in intimate relations with the original Swiss Cantons. It was decisive for the career of Carlo Borromeo that his maternal uncle, Angelo Medigino, at one time archpriest in the Valtelline, became cardinal, and ultimately Pope, in 1559, as Pius IV. Thanks to the nepotism prevailing in Rome, Borromeo, now twenty-two years of age, was appointed by his uncle archbishop of Milan and cardinal. The ardent piety, the strict rule of life and the brilliant endowments of the Pope's nephew soon silenced the critics. As cardinal Secretary of State Borromeo

became the Pope's right hand, until in 1565, in obedience to the decree of the Council which ordered that bishops should reside in their sees, he removed from Rome to Milan, where in his long period of activity he made the diocese a model one. Borromeo paid special attention to the Swiss portions of his diocese. He visited the district comprised in the modern Canton of Ticino no less than ten times.

Borromeo also displayed a lively interest in the whole of Switzerland. He endeavoured to strengthen the Catholic Swiss in their attachment to Rome, to reform their Church thoroughly in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Trent, and to free them so far as possible from their dangerous association with the heretics. It was with this end in view that in 1565 he brought about a special alliance of the Five Cantons with the Pope. The latter promised the Five Cantons money and arquebusiers in the event of a war of religion, while the Five Cantons in return agreed to supply the Pope upon demand with from 4000 to 6000 volunteers. The captain of the papal bodyguard was henceforward to be a man of Lucerne.

In the summer of 1570, on the occasion of a visit to his sister, who had married a count von Hohenems in the Vorarlberg, Borromeo undertook a journey into the heart of Switzerland. Accompanied by Bonhomini, who subsequently became nuncio, he crossed the St Gotthard, visited the grave of the pious hermit Nicholas von der Flüe at Sachseln in Unterwalden, travelled by way of Lucerne, Zug, Einsiedeln and St Gall to Hohenems, and on the return journey passed through Schwyz and Altdorf to the St Gotthard, meeting the bishop of Chur at Andermatt. The importance of this Swiss journey, which occupied little more than a month, has been greatly exaggerated in legend; but it is at least certain that the appearance of the renowned prince of the Church in those parts left a lasting impression on the people of the original Swiss Cantons. The most important consequence of Borromeo's Swiss journey was that it gave an impulse to the introduction of the Jesuits and to the establishment of a permanent nunciature in Switzerland.

After his return, the cardinal composed for Pius V a detailed memorial concerning the religious conditions in Switzerland. He described the piety of the Five Cantons and their veneration for the Council of Trent, but dwelt also on the narrow limits they imposed upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction, referred to the deplorable lives led

by their priests, and spoke of the unedifying state of the monasteries. In the "common bailiwicks," where heretics and Catholics made use of one and the same church, Catholicism was in a most deplorable state. The best way out of these difficulties was considered by Borromeo to be the establishment of a permanent nunciature and the foundation of a high school under the control of the Jesuits.

On the Catholic side, the advantage which the Reformers had in respect of education was felt to be a serious drawback. All the higher educational institutions of Switzerland were in the hands of the heretics. The Catholic youths who desired to study in their own fatherland had to choose between Basel, Zurich, Bern, Lausanne and Geneva, and often returned home with their faith seriously shaken. At the initiative of Borromeo, Lucerne now determined to found a Jesuit college, as certain private individuals led by the mayor, Ludwig Pfyffer, a renowned warrior, had got together sufficient capital for its foundation. In August, 1574, the Jesuits came to Lucerne, and were given the finest building in the town. In 1580, at the suggestion of the nuncio, Bonhomini, a second college was founded at Fribourg, under the guidance of the first German Jesuit and provincial of the order, Pater Canisius. In the seventeenth century, additional Jesuit colleges were founded in Porrentruy, Solothurn and Valais. Thus Catholic Switzerland had now its own higher educational institutions, where the Jesuits and their lay helpers gave an education in accordance with their own views. In 1579 Borromeo added to the native colleges by founding a "Helvetian College" in Milan, where from forty to fifty Swiss students received gratuitous support and education. Borromeo also gave an impetus to the introduction of the Capuchins into Switzerland. In 1581 the first members of this order came to Altdorf; and subsequently in rapid succession there were founded Capuchin monasteries in Stanz, Lucerne, Schwyz, Fribourg, Solothurn, Sion, Appenzell, etc. The Capuchins were the proletarians among the religious orders; and for this very reason no one understood better than they how to move and to inflame the feelings of the Catholic masses.

Often before had Roman negotiators visited Switzerland, but only for a brief stay, and for political reasons—to secure troops and to conclude alliances. Since the days of the Council of Trent, how-

ever, the Popes had begun to institute permanent nunciatures in important places; and Borromeo pressed for the appointment of a nuncio to Switzerland also. Borromeo's friend and companion, Bonhomini, bishop of Vercelli, was appointed nuncio in Lucerne in 1579. Bonhomini immediately undertook a thorough visitation of the monasteries, ecclesiastical foundations, and parishes, manifesting so much vigour and severity as to bring almost the whole of the native priesthood about his ears. In the "common bailiwicks" he pushed the Counter-Reformation so recklessly that he very nearly gave rise to a religious war. In a word, he aroused such a vast amount of ill-feeling, that in 1581 he was recalled by the Pope.

The Grisons were a great thorn in Borromeo's side. Nothing infuriated him so much as that, under the protection of the Grisons laws of toleration, the heretics should establish themselves upon Italian ground, preach there and have their works printed. After numerous attempts on the part of Borromeo and the Spanish government in Milan to cleanse the Italian-speaking parts of the Grisons by diplomatic methods had failed, Borromeo appeared in 1583 in the Val Mesocco, with a train of monks. With horrible cunning he understood how to deal here with the heretics, labelling them all witches and wizards. As Protestants, they enjoyed the protection of the law; but as witches and wizards they were delivered over defenceless to the Catholic majority in the Val Mesocco, who thus allied themselves with the cardinal for the destruction of the Protestants in the valley. Of the hundred and eight accused, the majority saved themselves by returning to the bosom of the Catholic Church. The provost of Roveredo and ten women who remained steadfast were burned alive. Those who were still Protestant in the Val Mesocco fled across the mountains.

Borromeo's embitterment against the Grisons reached a climax when in Sondrio, the capital of the Valtelline, a Latin school was founded for those of both faiths, and a learned Protestant of Zurich was summoned to preside over this institution. The cardinal conceived the idea of forcibly detaching the Valtelline from the Grisons. Since Spain, out of consideration for the Swiss, did not venture on an open attack, a body of volunteers invaded the region in 1584 in order to incite the Valtelline to revolt. The affair, however, miscarried completely; and the Grisons folk were so greatly enraged that the Spanish viceroy in Milan found it advisable to repudiate

the expedition and to decapitate its leader. Nevertheless, under pressure of this occurrence the Grisons removed the detested school from Sondrio to Chur. Immediately before the volunteer invasion Borromeo had died, on November 3rd, 1584, as greatly hated by the Protestants as he was glorified by the Catholics. Before long he was canonised.

It was not until after Borromeo's death that the results of his activities in Switzerland were plainly manifested. For a considerable time in the central Cantons there had been an idea of negotiating with Rome for their separation from the bishopric of Constance and for the institution of a bishopric of their own in Lucerne. The Pope seized the opportunity of re-establishing in Lucerne the nunciature which had been compromised by Bonhomini. It was not the desire of the Roman See to create a separate Swiss bishopric. But the Pope granted the central Swiss Cantons a great degree of ecclesiastical independence of Constance, while the prerogatives which were taken from the bishop passed to the nuncio, who from 1586 onwards resided permanently in the Confederation. In the nuncio, Catholic Switzerland acquired its ecclesiastical head who knew no other interests than those of Rome, and who succeeded only too often in directing Swiss policy in pursuit of Roman ends.

The effects of the Counter-Reformation could be traced in all directions. Even in Catholic Switzerland a strict religious life replaced the licence of former times. Gentle and simple rivalled one another in works of Catholic piety. Religious brotherhoods, new churches and chapels, appeared in quantities. New life blossomed in the monasteries of the old orders, and with these were associated the new foundations of the Jesuits and the Capuchins. The natural result was that simultaneously the sentiment of hostility towards the Protestant Confederates was increased. The two parties regarded one another with invincible mistrust. At every moment trifling incidents and groundless rumours threatened to lead to civil war. The Catholic Cantons, in especial, no longer knew of any other enemy than the Protestant "step-brothers." Since they did not feel themselves a match in strength for the united forces of the Protestant Cantons, they unashamedly endeavoured to strengthen themselves by special alliances with foreigners and among themselves, while in their relations with the Protestant Confederates

in respect of their pledges for the furnishing of help they restricted themselves carefully to the barest letter of the bond, endeavouring to confine themselves to mere words or to nothing at all.

In 1579, acting in the Catholic interest, they formed a separate alliance with the bishop of Basel, the sovereign of the region which now constitutes the Bernese Jura, without demanding that this prince of the Empire should himself become a Confederate in return. On the other hand, Bern, Bienne and Basel had been on the point of dividing up the bishopric among themselves and introducing the Reformation there. The alliance was directed against the three towns. It gave the bishop the necessary support to enable him to suppress religious reform in the greater part of his domains, to confine Bern and Bienne to their possessions in the Jura, to drive Basel completely out of the region, and even to force the last-named district to buy up, for large sums of money, the obsolete episcopal rights.

Finally, on October 5th, 1586, with the blessing of the recently appointed nuncio, the Seven Catholic Cantons swore a perpetual separate League in the Hofkirche of Lucerne. Owing to the gilded initial letters of the deed, the league was first known as the "Golden League," but subsequently, in honour of St Carlo Borromeo, it was termed the "Borromean League." In view of the great falling-away from the true, ancient, Catholic faith which could alone bring salvation, the Seven Cantons declared themselves to be faithful, loving, ancient Confederates and brothers, stated that every other religious faith but their own was "erroneous and schismatic," pledged themselves and their descendants to live and die by the true faith, to punish those who should fall away from it, and support one another against the unfaithful, even if such action should conflict with an earlier alliance.

A little later, on May 12th, 1587, the Catholic Cantons, with the exception of Solothurn, formed a separate league with the monarch who had made it the task of his life to extirpate Protestantism—Philip II of Spain. In the eyes of zealous Catholics, Philip II, who had just begun the equipment of the Invincible Armada against England, was the St George who was to effect the destruction of the great dragon of Lutheranism and Calvinism. In the eyes of the Protestants, on the other hand, he was the new Nero, the most blood-thirsty monster who had ever occupied a throne. With this despot, who as lord of

Milan was a near neighbour of Switzerland, the Catholic Cantons formed an intimate union, in order to secure such a powerful helper against their Protestant Confederate brethren. The allies pledged themselves on both sides to allow free passage for armed forces. Spain was to offer no obstacle to the Catholic Cantons sending mercenaries to the Pope, the duke of Savoy, or the French League; the Catholic Cantons were to be open to the king for his troops marching northward, this applying not only to their own immediate territory but also to the "common bailiwicks." Thus the Catholic Cantons guaranteed to Spain a military road right across Switzerland, such as had never been permitted to their ancient ally France, and they did this altogether regardless of the Protestant Cantons. They further offered facilities to the king for recruiting from 3000 to 13,000 men, in return for which he promised pensions to each Canton, and pledged himself to support them with as much money and as many soldiers as they might need in case of a religious war; he further agreed that, should the Grisons folk support the Protestant Cantons, he would attack them from Lombardy.

Upon the Protestant Confederates the Borromean and Spanish alliance produced an impression equivalent to that of a declaration of war; and they made preparations for defence. Even if war should not actually break out, the Borromean-Spanish League practically broke up the Confederation. The Catholic Cantons had formed themselves into a separate Confederation which had elevated hostility to Protestant Switzerland into a principle. In accordance with the prescriptions of the papal bull *In Coena Domini*, a breach of all Confederate community with the heretical Cantons, the abandonment of the old alliances which had now become a falsehood, would be the logical result of this policy. If matters did not proceed to this extremity, it was in part due to a slight remnant of the old Confederate feeling, but above all to the existence of the "common bailiwicks" the partition of which would have brought no advantage to the Catholic Cantons. Where such advantage was forthcoming, the Catholic Cantons did actually proceed to extremities. In 1587, for instance, they seized the first available pretext to dissolve the perpetual league concluded in 1515 with Mühlhausen in Alsace, which had become Protestant. The only reason which prevented similar action towards Neuchâtel was regard for the Catholic princely house; practically, Neuchâtel was also excluded by them

from the league when in 1588 the three Catholic Cantons allied with the country refrained from paying any attention to a demand on the part of Neuchâtel and Bern for armed assistance. The Grisons folk, since the Reformation, had no longer been regarded by the Catholic Cantons as Confederates. The Catholics still kept up more intimate relations with the Upper or Grey League, which was mainly Catholic, though to the Protestant League of the Ten Jurisdictions they would not even apply the term of "beloved Confederates and Allies." In face of the Catholic opposition, all attempts of the Three Leagues to amend the defective alliances of 1497–8, so that in case of need they might have counted unconditionally upon Confederate help, proved unavailing. Thus, through religious hatred there was destroyed the complete solidarity which had prevailed among the Confederates before these religious differences; and a rapid decline of the prestige of the Confederation followed.

The unhappy cleavage which ran through the Confederation from the time of the formation of the Borromean league led also to the partition of Appenzell. Here for sixty years the two faiths had, thanks to religious freedom, been able to live side by side in a sorry peace. Now, at the instigation of the nuncio and the Capuchins, the Catholic majority in the capital of Appenzell determined that they would no longer tolerate any heretics; the Protestants, who had hitherto attended divine service in the neighbouring district of Gais, were now either to become Catholics or to emigrate. Further the Catholics of Appenzell, although in the whole region they formed a minority, wished to force the territory to join the Spanish alliance, and to adopt the new calendar recommended by the Pope. Thereupon fierce dissensions arose. In order to avoid a sanguinary civil war, the Swiss Diet in 1597 arranged for a compromise by which Appenzell was divided into Protestant and Catholic halves, each having its own magistracy and its own popular assembly. From the Inner *Rhoden* (districts) the Protestants had to withdraw, while the Outer *Rhoden*, where the Protestants had the upper hand, were no longer to tolerate Catholics. The Catholic Inner *Rhoden* immediately joined the Borromean and Spanish alliance.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SWISS IN THE HUGUENOT WARS

WHILE it was by no means easy to prevent the religious factions in Switzerland from taking up arms once more against one another in the interior of the country, the wars of the Huguenots in France had for the Swiss almost the same significance as a religious war of their own. The French court regarded the Swiss as the indispensable nucleus of the French infantry, and shunned no sacrifice to renew the alliance which allowed the king to recruit soldiers in Switzerland. The alliance concluded in 1521 with Francis I was, after the death of that monarch, renewed in 1549 with Henry II, in 1565 with Charles IX, and in 1582 with Henry III, as a rule for the life-time of each monarch and for a couple of years in addition, to give his successor time for its renewal. Zurich, faithful to Zwingli's principle, remained aloof from these mercenary alliances throughout the sixteenth century, and so for a time did Bern also. On the other hand, Basel and Schaffhausen, the Cantons wherein religious parity prevailed, the Catholic Cantons, and the "Allies" regularly took part in them, so that there were always many Swiss serving in the French army.

Down to the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis the mercenary service of the Swiss had a purely political character, since they fought for the French king against his foreign enemies alone. But with the outbreak of the wars with the Huguenots, the Swiss help assumed a very different character. The enemy they now had to fight was an internal one—the French Protestants. It will readily be understood that the Catholic Cantons undertook this service with great zeal, whereas the Protestant Swiss did not merely hold aloof, but occasionally placed troops at the disposal of their oppressed friends in France. Whereas, however, the assistance given by the Catholic Swiss to the members of their own faith was covered by the official cloak of the recruiting provided for by the French treaty, since the court was as a rule on the Catholic side, the French government and the Catholic Cantons vied in stigmatising support given to the Huguenots by the Protestant Swiss as a breach of the alliance and

as assistance given to rebels; and this led to violent protests and disputes. But under Henry IV the situation was reversed.

During the second half of the sixteenth century the history of France was to a large extent inseparable from Switzerland. It is not without significance that the word *Eidgenosse*, in the German corruption of *Huguenot*, became the name of the French Protestants (cf. p. 131). From Geneva, Calvinism threatened to take France by storm. Valiant French nobles, up to the rank of princes of the blood, and in the south and west whole populations, went over to the new doctrines. On the other hand, Catholic Switzerland provided the antidote, the invincible infantry, upon which the cavalry of the Huguenot nobility hurled itself in vain. It may confidently be maintained that, but for the Catholic Swiss regiments, victory would have remained with the Huguenots, and the history of the world would have taken a different turn.

At the first great conflict, in the battle of Dreux, on December 19th, 1562, the Huguenot cavalry under Condé and Coligny broke the line of the royal forces, dispersed the whole of the left wing of the Catholics, and captured the royal commander-in-chief, the Constable Montmorency. The victory would have rested with the Huguenots had not the Swiss square in the centre remained unbroken, and thus made it possible for Henry duke of Guise to retrieve the battle, and with the right wing of his army to lead a decisive attack against Condé. Again, in 1567, it was only the Swiss who defeated the finely conceived plan of the Huguenots to gain possession of the person of Charles IX, and thus to secure control of the government. The court at Meaux had already been surrounded by the squadrons of the Huguenot cavalry, when 6000 Swiss, commanded by the Lucerne man, Ludwig Pfyffer, arrived after a forced night march, and brought the king safely to Paris under the protection of their pikes right through the enemy's lines. In the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, again, in 1569, the conduct of the Swiss on several occasions proved decisive in favour of the royal forces. Although these Catholic mercenaries brilliantly maintained the warlike renown of the Swiss, yet by their participation in the sanguinary Paris massacres they added a dark page to their history. It was Swiss soldiers, on guard at the palace of the king's brother, who, acting under the orders of Henry of Guise, murdered Admiral Coligny in his own dwelling.

After the massacre of St Bartholomew, which drove thousands of French refugees to Geneva and other parts of Switzerland, the Protestant Swiss towns devoted themselves more energetically to supporting the interests of their oppressed friends in France. In the army which the son of the Calvinistic Elector Palatine, the valiant count Palatine, John Casimir, recruited for the Huguenots in 1576 with English and Genevese money, there were 8000 Swiss Protestants. In the king's army there were also Catholic Swiss, but no battle took place. Catherine de Medici preferred to offer a peace by which the massacre of St Bartholomew was stamped as a crime and the families of the victims were restored to their possessions and their rights. This triumph of religious freedom over the fanatical lust for murder was above all due to the circumstance that the Catholic Swiss in the king's army were outnumbered by the Protestant Swiss in the army of John Casimir.

When the war was recommenced by the Catholic League, another relieving army was organised in 1587 by John Casimir, but was not led by him in person. On this occasion also, England contributed the money, while Germany and Protestant Switzerland supplied the men; but through bad leadership and through dissensions between the Germans and the Swiss the affair proved a lamentable failure, and the Protestant Swiss might consider themselves fortunate to secure a surrender which allowed them to return home in safety.

An important part was played by the Swiss when in 1588, in consequence of the murder of Henry of Guise by Henry III, the Catholic League turned its formidable organisation directly against the king, and thus constrained him to unite with Henry of Navarre, the chief of the Huguenots. To avoid being entirely dependent upon the favour of Navarre, he endeavoured to increase the strength of his Swiss forces. There was little to be hoped from the Catholic Cantons, whose sentiments inclined them to the side of the League. But Sancy, the French envoy, understood well how to set Protestant Switzerland in motion, by representing that the real matter in hand was to fight the duke of Savoy, who had begun war against France, and was aiming also at re-taking Geneva and Vaud. It was in February, 1589, that Sancy reached Geneva, and he was easily able to persuade the town to take up arms against Savoy. Then he secured from the Protestant Cantons, and from those where religious

parity prevailed, as well as from Solothurn, the desired permission to recruit, promising Bern that with these fresh Swiss mercenaries he would reconquer the territories on the south shore of the lake of Geneva, which in 1564 had been restored to Savoy, and would hand these over to Bern. Consequently Sancy appeared on that lake with 12,000 Swiss, took possession of the territory promised to Bern, and then led his regiments to the king. Meanwhile, however, the duke of Savoy and the Catholic League had asked for, and secured, Swiss troops from the Five Central Cantons. Thus there were Swiss upon both sides, but both were shy of bringing them into direct conflict. The Five Cantons had furnished recruits to Savoy on condition that their forces must be used only for the occupation of fortresses, so that they should not come into conflict with the Bernese. On their way to France the royal Swiss forces and those in the service of the League took pains to avoid meeting each other. By his union with Henry of Navarre and with Sancy's Swiss, Henry III found himself in possession of an army of 40,000 men, and thereupon advanced upon Paris, which was in the hands of the League. Everything was already arranged for the storm of the city, when on August 1st, 1589, the dagger-thrust of Clément, the Dominican friar, ended the life of the last of the Valois.

By hereditary right, the crown now passed to the chief of the Huguenots, the Bourbon Henry of Navarre; yet it seemed as if Henry IV would never be able to ascend the throne. The clergy declared that anyone who recognised the heretic as king would be excommunicated; and the Catholic royalists, who had followed the murdered king against the rebels of the League, were not for that reason disposed to serve a Huguenot. On the other hand, the concessions by which Henry IV endeavoured to satisfy the Catholics were profoundly displeasing to the Huguenots, so that many of these abandoned him. At this crisis it proved decisive that the 13,000 Swiss in the camp of Henry IV recognised him as king, and thus gave him a firm basis of support. With their aid he maintained himself against the attacks of the Leaguers at Arques and Dieppe; and it was their presence which made it possible for him, on March 14th, 1590, to gain his celebrated victory with the cavalry at Ivry, while his own Swiss regiments and those of the League held one another in check. When the rest of the army of the League had been routed, and Henry IV prepared to direct his artillery against the

still unbroken square of the Swiss, these latter allowed themselves to be persuaded by their countrymen in the king's service to lay down their arms, and were generously treated by the king. This put an end to the Swiss service with the League, while Henry IV had always numerous Swiss in his pay. In 1602 he solemnly renewed the alliance, for his life-time, for that of his son, and for eight years in addition.

Meanwhile the war against Savoy, begun by Sancy on the shores of the lake of Geneva, had taken a remarkable turn. After the departure of Sancy's regiments, it had been necessary for Bern itself to engage in the war; but the town observed with much disquiet that its influence in Geneva had now been entirely thrown into the background by that of France. In April, 1589, Geneva concluded an alliance with the king of France, by which the king promised to the town an enlargement of territory at the expense of Savoy, while both parties pledged themselves not to conclude a separate peace without consulting each other. Genevese politics were controlled by French envoys, and the Genevese troops were commanded by French captains. Was it then surprising that the interest of the Bernese statesmen in the independence of Geneva should cool, and that they felt that they would see the duke rather than the king installed as lord of Geneva? When the Bernese army, returning through Geneva after a raid into Savoy which had been lacking alike in vigour and success, was there received with insults, the Bernese government considered that it was discharged from all further obligations towards Geneva. On October 1st, 1589, at Nyon, a peace was concluded between Bern and Savoy, wherein Bern not merely renounced its new conquests, but in addition gave a pledge that, if the duke should wish to establish his claims to Geneva by force of arms or by legal methods, Bern would not render Geneva any aid. The peace of Nyon aroused great excitement throughout the Protestant world, for it seemed black treason towards the metropolis of the Protestant faith. In Bern itself so vigorous an opposition was manifested that the Town Council found it expedient, before confirming the peace, to refer the matter to the people in the urban and rural districts. But the Bernese folk were not prepared to surrender, in a moment of ill-humour, the fruits of the policy of half a century. The German-speaking territories and Vaud declared with one accord against the dishonourable

abandonment of Geneva, whereupon the Councils unanimously cancelled the peace of Nyon.

Nevertheless the war with Savoy was not renewed by Bern. It was Geneva alone which carried it on vigorously, in alliance with Henry IV. The closest community in arms between France and Geneva appeared to be established; and this would have completely estranged the town from the Confederation. Henry IV, however, was preparing a wholesome disillusion for the Genevese. In 1600, at Lyons, he concluded a peace with Savoy, by the terms of which the duke had to cede to France all his lands northward of the Rhone, together with the Pays de Gex; but Geneva, despite all promises, was not given a single village, and was not even included by the king in the peace. All that the town secured from the king was a subsequent declaration that he had wished to include Geneva in the peace of Lyons; but this was not binding upon Savoy. Since, however, for the time being, Savoy maintained a peaceful attitude, the Genevese regarded themselves as secure, and felt no anxiety.

This was what duke Charles Emanuel (1580–1630) had hoped for, so that, having an understanding with the Pope and with Spain, he could carry out upon the nest of heretics the long-designed *coup de main*. On the night of December 21st–22nd, 1602, a Savoyard and Spanish army silently approached the town under the command of D'Albigny. The troops were urged on to the blessed work by Jesuits and Capuchins. D'Albigny sent 300 dismounted cavalrymen to scale the wall at a badly guarded spot, and to open the gates from within. The Savoyards had already attained the outer wall, mounting by means of three blackened ladders. But to make their way into the interior of the town they had also to master the older and inner line of fortification, which was separated from the outer wall by a wide space. This was the salvation of Geneva. The watch had at length sounded the alarm; and the Savoyards who had mounted the wall were discovered and attacked. A lucky cannon shot destroyed the storming ladders, and the Savoyards did not succeed in blowing up a neighbouring gate with petards. There was consequently nothing left for the army waiting without but to withdraw, leaving those who had entered the town to their fate. Some of them were killed in the street fighting, while the remainder were taken prisoners, and were hanged the following day as incendiaries. Geneva continues to this day to celebrate the anniversary of the

fortunate repulse of the "Escalade." Zurich and Bern sent armed help to Geneva, while the Catholic Cantons, to whom the duke appealed for assistance, did not on this occasion venture to furnish it. The neutral Cantons, in conjunction with the French envoy, acted as intermediaries, and on July 21st, 1603, brought about the second peace of St Julien, in which the duke recognised the subsequent inclusion of the Genevese in the treaties of Vervins and of Lyons, promised them facilities for freedom of trade and intercourse, and pledged himself neither to assemble troops nor to erect fortresses within four hours of the town.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SWISS DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

With the opening of the seventeenth century, Switzerland, formerly so powerful, was in a state of hopeless dismemberment. For practical purposes there were now two hostile Confederations, a Catholic and a Protestant, whose only miserable bonds of union were the letter of the federal agreements, the existence of the "common bailiwicks," and the joint alliance with France. Through the Golden league and the Spanish league Catholic Switzerland became organised in a separate league which held its own Diets in Lucerne. This league comprised, in addition to the Seven Catholic Cantons, Appenzell (Inner Rhoden), the abbot of St Gall, the Valais and the bishop of Basel; abroad it looked for support to the Pope, to Spain, Austria, Savoy and other Catholic powers. The attempts of Bern and Zurich to oppose to this Catholic league a similar Protestant league had failed, because the other Protestant Cantons held back. Yet, even in the absence of any union by means of a treaty, the Protestant portions of the Confederation necessarily formed a close community, with a separate Diet, usually sitting at Aarau, Zurich, Bern, Basel, or Schaffhausen, which constituted the nucleus of this Protestant Confederation; it also comprised Protestant Glarus, with Appenzell (Outer Rhoden), the towns of St Gall, Mühlhausen and Bienne. To the outer circle belonged the Grisons, Neuchâtel and Geneva. There was no great Protestant neighbour-power to which the Protestant Swiss could look for support, but they maintained friendly relations with the Protestant princes of Germany and also with Sweden, Holland and England.

France was allied with both parties, and was never weary of preaching reconciliation to the two religious factions, since a divided Switzerland was of no use to France. The French court regarded Switzerland solely as a field for recruiting, and in order that this field might be as large as possible and that recruiting might proceed undisturbed, it was necessary that the Swiss should live together,

ostensibly at least, at peace. Consequently French policy, although it was the policy of a Catholic court, was by no means hostile to the Protestant Swiss; and indeed in proportion as the Spanish influence in the Catholic Cantons increased at the expense of the French, the intimacy between France and the Protestant Cantons grew.

It was in the Grisons that in the new century the contrasts became most acutely defined. To-day this region draws the eyes of the world by its natural beauties, but at this period it did so in consequence of its strategic importance as a land of passes. In the Raetian Alps the two so closely allied Habsburg powers, Spain and Austria, approached within a few miles of each other. From the lake of Como, which belonged to the Spanish duchy of Milan, to the Stelvio Pass, the boundary of Austrian Tirol, the distance was only fifty miles. On one side, however, the Grisons with the Valtelline, and on the other the mainland territory of the Republic of Venice, thrust a dividing wedge between the Austrian possessions and the Milanese. Now Venice was one of the few Italian States which consistently refused to acknowledge Spanish influence and to allow a passage to Spanish troops. Consequently the Spanish government turned its attention to the Grisons, endeavouring to secure by an alliance the right of way over the passes of the Grisons, and especially the route along the Adda through the Valtelline, as the shortest route from Milan into Tirol. France and Venice, on the other hand, were united in the endeavour to bar this way to the Habsburgs. Thus, Spain and Austria on one side, France and Venice on the other, became engaged in a vigorous contest upon the stormy ocean of the Grey League, both dispensing money with open hands. Violent faction fights and general corruption were the result. The Catholic Grisons folk sold themselves mainly to Spain and Austria, the Protestants to France and Venice. Whenever one party gained the upper hand, it introduced extraordinary "criminal tribunals," which passed upon the leaders of the opposing party sentences of death and outlawry, fines, etc.

Since the Spaniards did not succeed in attaining their end, they endeavoured to tame the Grisons folk by refusing to allow them freedom of trade, and by building close to the frontier, where the Adda flows into the lake of Como, a strong fortress, the Fort of Fuentes, threatening the Grisons subject-territories, the Valtelline

and Chiavenna, which were already shaky. Such a prohibition of free trade came into operation in the momentous year 1618, in which the Thirty Years' War began. The effect of these measures was, however, altogether different from what had been expected in Milan. Armed masses of the people arose under the leadership of enthusiastic Protestant preachers, such as George Jenatsch, pastor at Scharans, a man twenty-two years of age; and at Tusis they set up a noisy criminal court to deal with the "Spanish traitors." The brothers Pompeius and Rudolf Planta, the leaders of the Spanish-Catholic party, were outlawed, and a price was set upon their heads. Even death sentences were passed; Rusca, arch-priest of the Valtelline, was put to death upon the rack, on the accusation of having handed over a Protestant pastor to the Inquisition; and a number of persons were heavily fined. Vainly did the Spanish faction endeavour to make a rejoinder by means of an armed rising and a criminal court in Chur; the other side proved to be the stronger.

Thereupon the Spanish faction, in understanding with Spain and Austria, took a terrible vengeance for the excesses of the criminal court of Tusis. Among the people of the Valtelline, dissatisfaction had long prevailed, and not without reason, for the Grisons bailiffs who ruled over them would do anything for money. But as bigoted Catholics they hated still more the heretics who had settled among them under the protection of the religious liberty prevailing in the Grisons. Consequently, a plan was matured for the forcible extirpation of the Protestants and for the shaking off of the Grisons rule. The knight Robustelli, a nephew of Rudolf Planta, was the leader of the conspiracy. He found zealous assistants among the principal families of the Valtelline, the Venosti, Guicciardi, Schenardi, etc., but above all among the clergy. The massacre began in Tirano at dawn on July 20th, 1620. To the sound of the tocsin and spurred on by the priests the fanatical population fell upon the Protestants. Men, women and children were slaughtered without mercy, even Catholics who attempted to protest sharing their fate. From Tirano, Robustelli hastened down the valley, his appearance everywhere giving the signal for fresh massacres. In all, 600 persons were slain in "the Valtelline massacre."

A cry of rage and horror arose from the Protestant valleys of the Grisons. But who can describe their dismay when simultaneously Austrian troops poured into the Münsterthal and Spanish into the

Valtelline, when it became apparent that the governments of Innsbruck and Milan had a hand in the game, and that they were determined to take forcible possession of the greatly coveted road along the Adda. In face of this deadly danger, the Grisons showed itself to be in a state of hopeless disunion. It was the Protestants only who thought of revenge and defence; the Catholics of the Upper League, Spanish in sentiment, did not raise a finger. Similar was the condition of affairs throughout the Confederation. When the Grisons people appealed for help, the Bernese and the Zurich men at once took up arms in order to prevent the loss of the Valtelline, whereby "a valuable member of the Confederation would be detached from it." The Five Catholic Cantons, however, acting in the Spanish interest, refused to allow the Zurich men and the Bernese free passage; and these latter, to avoid a civil war, had to reach the Grisons by a circuitous route. In the beginning of September, 1620, 2100 Bernese, 1100 Zurichers and 1200 Protestant Grisons men crossed the Casanna Pass and occupied Bormio. When advancing upon Tirano, the Bernese, who were in the van, were surprised in an unfavourable position on November 11th by the Spaniards and were routed, so that the Confederate army was forced to retreat across the mountains.

The unfortunate outcome of the Valtelline campaign rendered yet more miserable the condition of the divided Grisons folk. The Catholics of the Upper League openly made common cause with the Spanish and Austrians, summoning from the Five Cantons troops paid by Spain. The Spanish faction now installed a most relentless reign of force, in order to restore the country to the Catholic faith. Wherever the power of the troops of the Upper League and of the Five Cantons extended, the Protestant preachers were expelled, their places being taken by Jesuits and Capuchins, who supervised the conversion of the heretics. Party hatred rose to a terrible pitch. On February 15th, 1621, the preacher George Jenatsch with a desperate troop of followers seized Pompeius Planta at his castle of Rietberg in the Domleschg and killed him as an outlawed traitor. Whilst these and similar deeds of blood diffused a paralysing terror throughout the Spanish faction, Jenatsch and his comrades summoned the men of the Engadine, Davos, the Prättigau, and other Protestant districts to raise the standard of revolt, and in a series of skirmishes expelled the troops of the Five

Cantons from the country and forced the Upper League to renounce its separatist activities.

But hardly did internal unity seem restored, when in October, 1621, there occurred an overwhelming onslaught from without. Colonel Baldiron with 8000 Austrians occupied the Engadine, Davos and the Prättigau, while the Spaniards took Chiavenna. The Grisons folk, torn by faction, could not oppose any effectual resistance to the foreign soldiers, and they received no help from the Confederation. The Catholic Cantons had a secret understanding with the enemy; and the Protestant Cantons, afraid of a combined attack by the Catholics in association with the Spaniards and the Austrians, did not dare to move. Baldiron entered Chur on November 22nd. All the important points of the region were occupied by foreign troops. The leaders of the Grisons patriots were hunted down. They were forced to leave the country, and most of them went to Germany, to join the Protestant armies of the Thirty Years' War. Among these latter was George Jenatsch, who exchanged the Bible for the sword, and attained the rank of captain in the service of Ernst von Mansfeld.

Thus left in the lurch by the Confederates, the Graubündeners were forced to accept the terms dictated by Spain and Austria, which cost them half their territory and left the remainder in a condition of humiliating dependence. Spain retained the Valtelline, while Austria annexed the Münsterthal and the Lower Engadine in the League of God's House, together with almost the whole of the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, Davos, Curwalden, Schanfigg, and the Prättigau. In addition Austria retained the right to maintain permanent garrisons in Chur and Maienfeld, with a right of way over all roads and passes. For the Habsburg powers the conversion of the conquered territory to Catholicism was a matter of course. In the case of the portion that still remained nominally independent, arrangements were made for a certain period of transition; but in the regions annexed by Austria the soldiers and Capuchins set to work at once. The Protestant pastors were expelled, and the inhabitants were driven to mass at the point of the pike.

To the undisciplined soldiers' insatiable lust for rapine there was now added religious oppression such as to drive the Protestant Grisonese to despair. The people of the Prättigau, proud of their

freedom, and devoted to their faith body and soul, secretly prepared for revolt. Since they had been forced to deliver up all their arms, they fashioned clubs for themselves in the forest, and studded the heads of these with nails and knives. On Palm Sunday, April 24th, 1622, armed with these improvised weapons, they fell upon the enemy's posts. In a few hours 450 Austrians had lost their lives; in Seewis the Capuchin Father Fidelis, the head of the missionary establishment, was also slain. After clearing the enemy out of their valley, the Prättigauers, led by Rudolf von Salis, an able officer, occupied the little town of Maienfeld, seized the important pass of Luzisteig leading from the Vorarlberg to the Grisons, and repelled with great slaughter the attacks made by the Austrians from Chur and Feldkirch. The number of the insurgents increased after these first successes, so that Salis was able to force Baldiron to withdraw from Chur, to liberate the Engadine and to re-establish the republic of the Three Leagues. But, while the Graubündeners were allowing themselves to be deluded by negotiations for peace, the Austrians returned with powerful reinforcements. They opened the offensive by raids into the Prättigau, which forced Salis to detach the Prättigauers, the nucleus of his little band, for the defence of their own valley. The main attack, however, was made from Martinsbruck upon the Lower Engadine by a force of 8000 men, against whom Salis could place in the field no more than 2000. Fighting continually, Salis retreated before numbers; in the unhappy Engadine all the villages were burned as far as Süs. In the Prättigau, Salis once more offered a valiant resistance, at Saas. After the last of their armed forces had been dispersed, the Grisons men had once more to bow their necks beneath the foreign yoke. Innumerable fugitives made their way into the Protestant Cantons, while their homes had to endure all the horrors of a foreign invasion.

The divided Confederation was unable to rescue its eastern march by its own exertions, but a foreign power now came to its assistance. The policy of France, which had been under a feminine regency since the murder of Henry IV, was for long weak and ambiguous, but with the accession to power of Richelieu it became once more energetic. Richelieu did not desire to leave the Grisons passes in the hands of the Habsburgs, and with the support of the Protestant Cantons secretly provided an army of 8000 men, recruited from

among the Grisons fugitives, the Swiss and the French, and commanded by the marquis de Coeuvres. On October 27th, 1624, the regiment of Colonel Rudolf von Salis marched as advance-guard from the lake of Zurich upon Chur. Austria, not anticipating any attack, had in the spring withdrawn most of her forces from the Grisons, so that de Coeuvres was able to occupy the whole region almost without striking a blow, the only resistance being that offered by the Spaniards in Chiavenna.

But the troubles of the Grisons were not yet at an end. By the intrigues of the strict Catholic party at the French court, Richelieu was forced in 1626 to conclude at Monzon in Aragon a treaty with Spain which handed over the fortified places of the Valtelline to the Pope, and left the Grisons no more of their subject territory than the illusory claim to an annual rental. In 1629, 40,000 imperial troops once more overran the region, taking this as the shortest route to Italy, where Austria and France respectively were measuring their forces in the war of the Mantuan succession. Once again it was not the Confederates but France which compelled Austria to evacuate the Grisons, the evacuation being imposed by the peace of Cherasco (1631) after the Austrian defeat by the French in Italy. Three Grisons regiments in French pay were levied for the guardianship of the passes, and the northern entrance to the country was closed by the skilfully designed fortifications of the Luzisteig and the bridge over the Rhine at Maienfeld.

Moreover, the treaty of Monzon still remained in force. But, as time passed, Richelieu found himself less and less satisfied with the terms of this treaty, which had left the Valtelline with its passes entirely in the hands of Spain. In 1634, for instance, the Spanish infante Ferdinand led through the Valtelline to Germany an army of 12,000 men, which in the battle of Nördlingen gave a decisive advantage to the imperial troops over the Swedes, then in alliance with France. In 1635, when the general European situation compelled Richelieu to take part openly in the great German war, it was one of his first tasks to conquer the Valtelline, and thus to sever all communication between Milan and the Austrian States. He entrusted this task to duke Henri de Rohan, the bold Huguenot leader, who had previously given him so much trouble in domestic affairs. In March, 1635, Rohan left Alsace with seven regiments of infantry and four companies of cavalry, and made forced marches

to Chur by way of the Protestant Cantons, which gave every possible assistance to the undertaking. At the opening of the campaign, Rohan's army, including the regiments that were already in the Grisons, numbered 8000 infantry and 400 cavalry; and these were subsequently reinforced by three additional Grisons and two Swiss regiments. He had, however, to utilise more than half of his troops in the occupation of important strategic points on the frontier, so that only a small force remained available for service in the field. Yet the sudden attack was so complete a surprise to the Valtelline and its protectors that the three lordships of the Valtelline, Bormio, and Chiavenna surrendered to Rohan without striking a blow. The Spaniards and the Austrians, however, were by no means willing to abandon the route along the Adda. The imperial general, Fernamond, advanced into the Valtelline from Tirol, and the Spanish Serbelloni entered the valley from the Milanese side, each of them with a force superior to that of Rohan. The French general boldly established himself in the centre of the valley, on July 3rd defeated the Austrians at Mazzo (above Tirano) driving them back into Tirol, and subsequently forced the Spaniards back to the lake of Como. In October, Fernamond, reinforced with fresh troops, crossed by Bormio into the Val Fraële and entrenched himself there, simultaneously threatening the Valtelline and the Engadine. At the same time Serbelloni once more moved out of Fort Fuentes in order to assist the Austrians and to crush Rohan, who was between the two. But by his lightning-like swiftness of movement Rohan once more got the better of his slower opponents. On October 31st, with a force of 4500 men, he attacked the 7000 Austrians in the Val Fraële and inflicted upon them an overwhelming defeat. He then hastened down the valley against the Spaniards, and gained a complete victory on November 10th at Morbegno.

This Valtellinese campaign of Rohan, one of the most brilliant feats of war of the seventeenth century, had as its result that the Austrians and Spaniards would venture no further attack upon this matchless enemy. Rohan was already thinking of carrying his arms into Milanese territory, when the Grisons began to prove an insecure base of operations. The Grisons men considered it a matter of course that the Valtelline, which had been conquered to a large extent through the shedding of their own blood, should be restored to them; and Rohan would gladly have evacuated it in their favour.

Richelieu, however, regarded the Grisons as a mere pawn upon the great chess-board of European politics. He desired to retain the route along the Adda in his own hands, so that he might dispose of it according to his own pleasure, and sent instructions to Rohan to put off the Grisons with kind words and vague general promises. On this occasion the great statesman had made a serious miscalculation.

In the conquest of the Valtelline, George Jenatsch, as colonel of one of the Grisons regiments, had been Rohan's right hand; in especial he had played a principalpart in winning the sanguinary victory in the Val Fraële. But, while in appearance he was wholly devoted to France and his commander-in-chief, he had secretly conceived the design of freeing his home from the French with the help of the Habsburgs. He had come to the conclusion that peace could be secured only through friendly relations with the Catholic neighbours with whom the Grisons had fought so long and so vigorously, calculating coolly that the fear lest the Grisons men might once more throw themselves into the arms of France would restrain Austria from further arbitrary acts. He therefore opened secret negotiations in Innsbruck and Milan, and in order to attain his ends more readily he became a Catholic. He won over to his design the chiefs of all parties, including the Grisons regiments, which were embittered because the pay due to them from France was in arrears. While Rohan was deceived by Jenatsch's incomparable power of dissimulation, terms were arranged at Innsbruck in the beginning of 1637; and all over the country a conspiracy known as the *Kettenbund* was formed against the French. When all was ready, Jenatsch threw off the mask; and under his leadership a general rising of the Grisons regiments and the *Landsturm* began against the French. On the frontier, the Spaniards and the Austrians were standing ready to advance at the first sign from Jenatsch, and to take Rohan prisoner. For the French commander there was nothing left but to conclude a treaty, whereby he evacuated the valley with his troops. The Grisons men made a sharp distinction between France and her commander; for Rohan, the "good duke," their only feeling was one of gratitude and veneration. On May 5th, 1637, when he left Chur, the military and political leaders of the Grisons escorted him honourably to the frontier. Rohan was unable to return to France, for he had been made responsible for the political failure. He entered the army of duke Bernard of Weimar

and died on April 13th, 1638, of the wounds he had received in the previous February at the battle of Rheinfelden.

The final settlement of the Valtelline question was delayed, for Spain made the exclusion of the Protestant religion from the subject territories a *conditio sine quâ non*. Jenatsch, who, as commander-in-chief of the Three Leagues, exercised the powers of a dictator, was already thinking of once more adhering to the French side in order to check the arrogance of the Spaniards. But on January 24th, 1639, at an evening banquet in Chur, he was attacked by a troop of masked men; and thus ended under the daggers of assassins a career that had been blood-stained but always devoted to the liberation of the Grisons. The authorities took no trouble to investigate the affair, but it was reported that the leader of the assassins was Rudolf Planta, son of Pompeius Planta, who had been murdered by Jenatsch, so that Jenatsch fell as victim to a blood feud; at a later date it was suggested that Lucretia Planta, daughter of Pompeius, took part in the affair, but this is a later addition to the story.

With the death of Jenatsch quiet was restored to the country both in internal and external affairs. On September 3rd, 1639, a perpetual league secured for the Grisons the possession of their former dominions, but with the grievous limitation that Protestants, save officials during their term of office, should not remain in these territories longer than three months. Austria renounced the plan of enlarging to a suzerainty her restricted rights in the Münsterthal, the Lower Engadine, and the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, and in 1649 and 1652 agreed to the complete redemption by purchase of these regions. Thus the two Habsburg powers were forced to abandon their arbitrary policy towards the Grisons; and on the other hand the Grisons exchanged the alliance with France for one with Spain and Austria, after having learned in the school of bitter experience that political and religious interests are very different things. The "Grisons disturbances" led to a weighty change in the relations of the Raetian land to the Confederation. Since the Confederation had proved unable to protect the Grisons against foreign invasion, the natural result was that the bonds between this "Ally" and Switzerland, though not completely severed, were so greatly loosened that the Grisons was henceforth hardly considered to be a member of the Confederation. It no longer sent delegates to the Swiss Diet, and regarded itself as an independent neighbour of Switzerland.

It was by the sacrifice of the Grisons, too, that the rest of Switzerland escaped being drawn into the Thirty Years' War. This terrible religious struggle aroused the most violent passions in the two Swiss religious camps. The Catholics rejoiced over the victories of Tilly and Wallenstein; the Protestants were delighted at the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus; on either side numerous Swiss, inspired by religious zeal and the love of adventure, hastened to the colours of the contending parties. Neither of these latter failed to make attempts to draw Switzerland into the war, both sides sending proposals for alliances and appeals for help; and on either side no little desire was occasionally displayed to form an alliance with the Swiss Catholics or Protestants in order to attack in Switzerland the Swiss who held other religious views. On several occasions peace hung by a thread. When the Grisons was overwhelmed by the Spanish and imperial troops, the rest of the Confederation escaped participation in the war only because the Protestant Cantons adopted the dishonourable course of leaving the Grisons to look after itself —so far at least as official help was concerned. On the other hand, as a result of embittered disputes which were aroused by an infringement of neutrality on the part of the Swedish general Horn, during the siege of Constance in 1633, Zurich and Bern were upon the verge of calling the Catholic Cantons to account with Swedish help. In the end, however, the better view always prevailed—the dread of breaking up the Confederation.

The longer the horrible conflict lasted in Germany and the more terrible the devastation to which it gave rise in the unhappy neighbouring country, the more apparent did it become to both Swiss parties how great was the value of their safeguarded neutrality. At the Swiss Diet promises were exchanged in favour of neutrality; to neither of the belligerent parties was the entrance on Confederate soil to be permitted; proposals were brought forward for an effective protection of the frontier. The numerous German fugitives who sought asylum in Switzerland regarded this peaceful land as an "earthly paradise." Thus not only did Switzerland remain free from the horrors of this terrible war, but, when it was over, she even gained an important success.

Since the Swabian war of 1499, the Confederation had practically been an independent community separated from the Empire. From time to time, however, her incomplete legal severance had led to

vexatious conflicts. In the peace of Basel (1499), the Emperor had conceded to the ten Cantons (which then constituted the Confederation) complete exemption from imperial taxation and imperial jurisdiction; the imperial authorities no longer ventured to molest these ten Cantons in any way. It was otherwise, as regarded those Cantons that had joined the Confederation subsequently to the peace of Basel, such as Basel itself for instance; it was otherwise with the "Allies"; it was otherwise with the Swiss bishops and abbots who were glad at times to pose as imperial princes. None of these Cantons was considered to be included in the terms of the peace of Basel; and on into the first half of the sixteenth century attempts were made by the Empire to impose taxes upon them as members of the Empire, to summon them before the Imperial Court of Chancery, etc. The view of the National Assembly was that whoever was a Confederate participated in the peace of Basel. The spirit which had animated the Swiss at the time of the Swabian war was not yet extinct; they demanded redress from Emperor Charles V, "otherwise they would have to consider how with God's help they might safeguard and protect themselves and all their people in their liberties and ancient customs." That Emperor recognised the standpoint of the Confederates, with whom he did not desire to quarrel; and after the middle of the sixteenth century they were left in peace until the increase of the imperial power in the Thirty Years' War once again encouraged the imperial authorities in the attempt to extend their tentacles towards Switzerland. The Imperial Court of Chancery in Speier declared that Basel was subject to its jurisdiction like any other imperial town, and, when the town paid no attention to its summons, laid an embargo upon all property held by citizens of Basel in Germany. Remonstrances made by the Swiss Diet proved fruitless. Thereupon in 1646 the Protestant Cantons (the Catholics held aloof) sent Rudolf Wettstein, the burgomaster of Basel, to the peace congress held at Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia. By his prudence in the brilliant assembly the plain Swiss gained honour and reputation and was able to manage that, with the assent of all parties, an article should be introduced into the peace of Westphalia to the effect that "the town of Basel and the other Cantons of the Helvetians possess what is tantamount to complete freedom and exemption from the Empire, and are nowise subject to the dicasteries and courts of the Empire." Thus was Switzerland at length formally recognised as an independent European state.

CHAPTER XV

SWISS CIVILISATION IN THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION

WHEREAS during the epoch of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation the political development of Switzerland took an unsatisfactory turn, it was otherwise with the general civilisation of the country. Switzerland played a leading part in the moral and intellectual process of rejuvenescence which the Reformation signified for Europe. Side by side with Luther and Melanchthon, the Swiss Reformers Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Calvin and Beza were the fathers of Protestantism; side by side with Wittenberg, Zurich and Geneva were its most notable centres. John Bale, the bishop of Ossory, wrote:

> Had it not been that at Wittenberg Luther, the Atlas of the Christian doctrine, at Zurich Zwingli, the unconquered advocate of the pure truth and its confessor at the cost of his own blood, at Basel Oecolampadius, a shining light in God's house, opened for us the living sources of Holy Writ, there would have been no place on earth where Christ could lay his head.

In the sixteenth century the Swiss theologians occupied a position comparable to that held in the eighteenth by the French Encyclopaedists. Zwingli, Bullinger, Calvin and Beza corresponded with the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Reformation in Germany, France, Great Britain, Hungary and Poland; with the landgrave of Hesse, the Elector Palatine, the prince de Condé, King Anthony of Navarre and Queen Jeanne d'Albret, Christian II of Denmark, Edward VI and Elizabeth of England and Lady Jane Grey. Their writings were disseminated throughout the world in reprints or translations. Even the theologians of the second rank, such as Leo Judä, Bibliander, Gwalter, Pellicanus and Petrus Martyr in Zurich, Grynäus, Simon Sulzer and Borrhaus in Basel, and Viret in Lausanne, were men of European reputation. The Helvetic Confession, drawn up by Bullinger and printed in Zurich in 1566, was adopted by the Elector Palatine, by the Waldenses of Piedmont, by the Scottish

Reformers, and by those of Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Transylvania and Holland, being regarded as a summary of the commonly held doctrine of all the Reformed Churches, which all pastors had to accept upon oath.

Equally good was the repute of the Swiss high schools. In Basel the university, profoundly affected by the withdrawal of the Humanists, was now re-established; and its reputation continued to increase through the work of distinguished men of learning, until towards the end of the sixteenth century. The high school founded by Zwingli in Zurich, the Carolinum, was regularly attended by Frenchmen, Italians, Netherlanders, Germans, Bohemians, Poles and Russians. The Englishman, Thomas Coryat, wrote of it in 1611:

> For though it be no Vniuersitie to yeeld degrees of Schoole to the students, yet it hath bred more singular learned writers (at the least in my poore opinion) than any one of the famousest Vniuersities of all Christendome, especially Diuines, and such as haue consecrated their name to posterity euen til the end of the world by their learned works.... Howbeit I doe not by this praise of Zurich derogate frome the learned men of mine owne country. For I am perswaded that our two famous Vniuersities of Oxford and Cambridge do yeeld as learned men as any in the world; but for the quantity (not the quality) of writing the Tigurines without doubt haue the superioritie of our English men.

The most celebrated of all was the Academy of Geneva. Here, besides great theologians, there were at work philologists and jurists of the first rank, who gave the place the highest renown. From all the countries of Europe where there were Protestants, from the courts of the princes and the castles of the nobles, young men greedy for learning flocked to Geneva. In an album which began in Geneva in the year 1581 giving the names of all the princes, counts and nobles who studied in the town, we find the arms and signatures of the counts and barons of Nassau, Salm, Sayn-Wittgenstein, Rutland, Ostrorog, Labischin, Zerotin, of Antony Bacon, the brother of the philosopher, of Robert Devereux son of the Lord Essex who was executed in 1601, etc. The Huguenot academies of Orthez, Orange, Saumur and Montauban, and the high school of Leyden, were all founded after the Genevese example; while the Scottish universities of Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St Andrews were reconstituted on similar lines.

The intellectual activity awakened in Switzerland by the Reformation was by no means wholly absorbed in theology. Classical and oriental philology was diligently cultivated as the necessary basis for the return to primitive Christianity. In Geneva the celebrated printers, Robert and Henri Estienne, were distinguished for their editions of the Greek classics, which covered almost the entire field of Greek literature, and became proverbial for their beauty and accuracy, while in their *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (Geneva, 1572) they became the founders of Greek lexicography. Isaac Casaubon (born in 1559 at Geneva, died in 1614 in London), one of the greatest philologists of all time, taught in the Academy of Geneva until 1596, when he was summoned to France, and subsequently in 1608 to England. The brilliant Joseph Scaliger, the founder of the sciences of epigraphy, numismatics and chronology, taught for a time in Geneva.

In Basel there lived the versatile Sebastian Münster, first among Germans to publish the Bible in the original Hebrew, but still better known through his *Cosmographia Universalis* (1544), the first comparative treatise on man founded upon a geographical basis—a work which speedily ran through twenty-four editions and was translated into most European tongues. Bibliander, the Zurich Orientalist, founded the study of Mohammedanism, publishing the Koran for the first time in 1543, after a severe contest with the Basel censorship. He had to secure the approval of Luther before the Basel Town Council gave permission for the printing of the "Turkish Bible." Johann Buxtorf of Basel and his son were regarded as the first Orientalists of their time. The *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum*, the *Concordantiae Bibliorum Hebraicorum* and other works written by the father and published by the son, served in many respects to lay the foundations of Semitic philology.

In the transition from Humanism to the mighty development of the natural sciences, Conrad Gesner (1516–65) physician and professor at Zurich, was an intermediary. In many fields he was one of the most industrious scholars of the sixteenth century. In the endless series of his philological, medical and other scientific works, there may be mentioned as of leading importance the *Bibliotheca Universalis* (Zurich, 1545–55), a huge collection in which Gesner laid the foundation of bibliography; the *Historia Animalium* (Zurich,

1551–8), through which he became the father of zoology; and his great work upon plants, which was not published until the eighteenth century, the *Stirpium Historia* (Nuremberg, 1753–9). Gesner discovered, named, and described a large number of animals and plants; he was the first to recognise the significance of the reproductive organs of plants; he was the first to draw and print illustrations in his scientific texts. He too was the first to make carefully planned botanical journeys in the mountains, and to give literary expression to the grandeur and beauty of the Alpine world. A remarkable figure, ranking beside the universal spirit of Gesner, is that of the physician, Theophrastus Paracelsus (born in 1493 at Einsiedeln, died in 1541 at Salzburg). He wandered over Europe like a comet, was a revolutionary genius in the domain of medicine, applied chemistry to pharmaceutics, discovered important medicinal remedies (such as the use of mercury in the treatment of syphilis), and expounded in his writings a number of fruitful ideas, although these were concealed in the dress of his fantastical views of nature. An honourable place in the history of medicine is also occupied by Felix Platter (1536–1614) town physician and professor at Basel; he was one of the founders of pathological anatomy. Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624) professor at Basel, was celebrated both as anatomist and botanist; in the latter sphere of scientific activity he was the creator of the binary nomenclature which at a later date was erroneously attributed to Linnaeus.

There worked in Geneva the great French jurists, François Hotman and Denis Godefroy (Gothofredus), who fled from their homes on account of the massacre of St Bartholomew. The last-named, with his son Jacques, rendered permanent service to the science of jurisprudence by commentated and critical editions of the *Corpus Juris* and other important sources of Roman law. In 1576 Josias Simler, professor at Zurich, in his book *De Republicâ Helvetiorum*, gave the first account of the public law of the Confederation and its Cantons.

The epoch of the Reformation also produced in Switzerland an abundance of historical works. The Bernese physician, Valerius Aushelm (ob. 1546) described the heroic times of the Swabian war and of the Milanese campaigns, as well as the beginnings of the Reformation, in an official chronicle of the town of Bern which was distinguished at once by an open-minded love of truth and by

thorough-going research. Bullinger provided a worthy monument of his predecessor Zwingli in a detailed history of the Reformation. In 1548 Froschauer printed the *Eidgenössische Kronik* of the Zurich pastor Johannes Stumpf; this work was richly illustrated with maps, views of towns, coats-of-arms, portraits, etc. and remained for long the principal work from which a thorough knowledge of Switzerland and Swiss history could be obtained. The greatest renown as a historian was gained by the Catholic Aegidius Tschudi of Glarus (ob. 1572), whose *Eidgenössische Kronik*, dealing with the period 1000 to 1470, continued to influence the views held as to the earlier history of Switzerland far on into the nineteenth century. Bonivard (ob. 1570), the prisoner of Chillon, wrote under official auspices a chronicle of Geneva which was full of life and colour. The most notable historian of Calvinistic Geneva was Michel Roset (ob. 1613), who under Calvin and Beza held the office of syndic fourteen times and was the right hand of the Reformers. Biography and autobiography flourished side by side with history. The most noteworthy of all the Swiss memoirs is the autobiography of the Valaisan Thomas Platter (ob. 1582), who in his old age wrote an account of his life from the first days when he was an orphaned shepherd lad and travelling scholar, to his settlement in Basel as printer and teacher. Stimulated by his father's example, Felix Platter, the physician (ob. 1614), also described the history of his own youth. Both these autobiographies constitute historical sources of the first importance and are full of valuable features.

In the sixteenth century Switzerland was the principal seat of the German drama. In her towns, intense delight was taken in dramatic representations; her dramas number about four hundred pieces, for the most part biblical, but occasionally themes of classical antiquity and of the national past were treated. The most notable of the dramatists was the Bernese painter Nicholas Manuel (ob. 1530), whose satirical carnival plays greatly contributed to the establishment of the Reformation in Bern. Those writers who in Switzerland devoted themselves to the drama were not poets of the first rank, but their vigorous endeavours were adapted to open the way for a master, who unfortunately was not forthcoming. While England had her Shakespeare, the German-Swiss drama of the sixteenth century remained a blossom without fruit, for in the field of literature the fruit can be matured only by the man of genius.

Closely associated with the movement of intellectual life is the great importance attained by Switzerland in printing during the sixteenth century. In this field, down to the end of the century, Basel occupied one of the first places in Europe, owing to the presence in the town of the celebrated printer families of Amerbach, Froben, Cratander, Petri, Oporinus and others. Zurich rivalled Basel with the house of Christopher Froschauer, who displayed an astonishing activity in the service of the Reformation. A third important centre of printing was Geneva, where the aforementioned Estiennes also established what may be spoken of as the official press of French Protestantism, and where besides their own works they published French and English editions of the Bible, the writings of Calvin, Beza and many other persons.

Nor was there any lack of artistic talent in Switzerland. In addition to Hans Holbein, the pride and glory of Basel, the leading artists of German-speaking Switzerland were Urs Graf of Solothurn (ob. 1529), a talented and strongly realistic draughtsman and etcher, and Nicholas Manuel of Bern, whose great dance of death (unhappily destroyed) on the cemetery wall of the Dominican monastery at Bern stimulated Holbein to the composition of his celebrated pictures of death. In Zurich, Hans Asper (ob. 1571) worked as an industrious fresco and portrait painter; the well-known portrait of Zwingli is from his brush. A younger artist of Zurich, Jost Ammann (ob. 1591), removed to Nuremberg, and there, as draughtsman and copper-plate engraver for the illustrations to Bibles, heraldic works, and books on costumes, displayed astonishing fertility and originality. At Schaffhausen worked Tobias Stimmer (ob. 1582), chiefly a portrait painter, but also painter of the still extant fresco on the façade of the "Haus zum Ritter" at Schaffhausen, and also designer of a number of illustrations for the printers of Basel and Strassburg; Rubens in his youth copied the drawings of the Bible illustrated by Stimmer. Matthaeus Merian of Basel (1593–1650) was the most widely known and fertile illustrator of the seventeenth century.

Ticino was a veritable nursery of artists, most of whom, however, worked in foreign lands. Architects, sculptors and painters from Ticino were to be found in all the towns of Italy, as well as in Spain, Germany and Poland; among these were whole dynasties of artists, such as the Gagginis of Bissone on the lake of Lugano, who distinguished themselves as the sculptors of richly ornamented marble

gateways and gravestones in Genoa, Sicily, France and Spain, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century; the Lombardis of Carona, to whom are ascribed a number of churches and palaces in Venice; the Carlones of Rovro, who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries worked as architects, sculptors and painters in Genoa, Savona and elsewhere. Among the individual artists of Ticino, there may also be mentioned Tommaso Rodari of Maroggia (ob. 1526), the creator of the magnificent cathedral of Como; Gian Battista Quadri of Lugano, who, in 1536, began the construction of the Renaissance town hall in Posen; Carlo Maderna of Bissone (1536–1629), one of the greatest architects of the baroque style, who completed St Peters in Rome; the pupil and fellow-countryman of the last-named, the gifted Francesco Borromini of Bissone (1599–1666) who became Bernini's rival in Rome and has been termed the father of the rococo style.

While the smallness and narrowness of conditions in their own country drove the most talented of the Swiss artists abroad, the prosperity that flourished during the long period of peace proved the foundation for an admirable artistic output whose results constitute to-day the principal treasures of the National Museum in Zurich, and of similar collections in Bern, Basel and other towns. The Frenchman, Michel de Montaigne, who travelled through Switzerland in 1580, could not find enough praise for the splendid aspect of its towns. He speaks of the wide streets, of the squares adorned with beautiful fountains, of the fine large windows in the houses, of the multicoloured tiled roofs, of the painted façades adorned with mottoes—all giving the Swiss towns an agreeable aspect. He was also pleased with the interiors of the dwellings, with their fine woodwork, their magnificent stores and stately furniture, as well as their remarkable ironwork.

One of the minor arts which was generally diffused throughout Switzerland, and which must be regarded as peculiarly Swiss, was stained-glass painting for domestic use. It was a general custom to decorate with painted coats-of-arms the windows of new buildings both public and private. Towns and communes, monasteries, guilds, societies and private individuals, bestowed such windows upon one another as gifts. In this way the Swiss buildings became adorned with innumerable windows bearing coats-of-arms and constituting an inexhaustible treasury of artistic motifs. Leading artists, such

as Holbein, Urs Graf, Nicholas Manuel, Tobias Stimmer, designed panes; and an enormous number of glass painters were at work throughout the country. From 1530 to 1560, Swiss glass painting was at its artistic and technical acme, but subsequently it underwent a gradual decline.

The prosperous state of the towns and villages of Switzerland, so striking to foreigners, was in part dependent upon foreign mercenary service and the system of pensions associated therewith. It had, however, more solid foundations in the diligent pursuit of agriculture, the great development of craftsmanship, and in the great and gradually expanding manufacturing industry. In St Gall, the linen industry flourished, and its products found their way into all the countries of Europe. In Zurich, where mercenary service was forbidden, the population found a substitute in the cotton and silk industries. The same thing happened in Basel. The Swiss watch and clock-making industry began in 1587, with the arrival in Geneva of the Burgundian, Charles Cusin, a refugee on account of religion; in association with this industry there developed the older native Genevese jewellers' industry.

Commerce flourished as well as manufacture. The great changes in commerce that followed upon the age of discovery proved advantageous to Switzerland, since the lines of communication between the old commercial power of Italy and the new commercial power of Switzerland lay chiefly over the Swiss passes. Notwithstanding a notable lowering of the customs, the receipts from the Basel transit dues quickly increased after 1530 five-fold and ten-fold. Moreover, the absolute safety of the roads encouraged traffic. Coryat, who visited Switzerland in 1608, declared that travel was here safer than in any other country in Europe.

Another English traveller, Fynes Moryson, who visited Switzerland towards the end of the sixteenth century, gave the following characterisation of its inhabitants:

> And howsoever all the country lies within mountains and woods, yet the high way for passengers is no where more safe from theeves, so as it is there proverbially said, that you may carry gold in the palmes of your hands: For all crimes are severely punished without all respect of persons. ...Also because military men, and such as drinke to excesse, are prone to brawling and blowes, most heavy penalties are thereby inflicted upon such as are Authours of injuries, and the leagues make not more frequent

mention of any other thing, than of reproaches, for which they prescribe such good remedies and reall satisfactions, not passing over the least injury of the poorest man, as among the very souldiers, yea, halfe drunken, there very seldome hapeneth any murther.

Our picture of Swiss civilisation would be one-sided if we failed to pay attention to the seamy side of Swiss social conditions during the age of the Reformation. Religious compulsion was exercised relentlessly by the Protestants as well as by the Catholics. In Bern so late as 1648 Anabaptists were imprisoned. The Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, which Bullinger in his confession of faith had cleverly circumvented, came to be regarded more and more as the only orthodox one, and gave occasion in an increasing degree to prosecutions against those who held other views. Zwingli had regarded the Bible as a means for freeing the mind; his successors employed it as a means for the imposition of new fetters. It was forbidden to teach the discoveries of Copernicus, because they contradicted the Bible. When at the Huguenot academy of Saumur the discovery was taught that the text of the Old Testament had originally been written without vowel signs, and that it must be regarded as divinely inspired only in respect of the consonantal forms, but not in respect of the vowel signs introduced by the commentators, the Swiss church was most profoundly excited by this "false doctrine," and forbade any visits to Saumur.

The poisonous blossoms of superstition flourished among high and low, among Catholics and Protestants. More especially the rival faiths had no right to reproach one another in respect of the horrible delusions about witchcraft. In Lucerne alone, in the decade 1562–72, four hundred and ninety-one persons were arrested on a charge of carnal intercourse with the devil and sixty-two were burned; between 1658 and 1664 even children were strangled and then burned. In Zurich also, between 1571 and 1598, thirty-seven witches were executed; while in Bern, from 1591 to 1600, the number of executions for witchcraft was as much as two hundred and fifty-five. In Zwingli's writings we find no trace of credence in diabolism or witchcraft, but Calvin shared with Luther a belief in the existence of wizards and witches who were in alliance with Satan. In Geneva, in 1545, the idea that the prevalence of the plague in the town was the work of human beings, the so-called "plague disseminators," led to the most terrible travesties of justice.

In three months, upon this accusation, thirty-one persons were put to death, some with the sword, some on the gallows, some quartered, and some burned at the stake, the men being first tortured with red-hot pincers, while in the case of the women a hand was struck off, so that even Calvin, although he believed in the guilt of the accused, felt it necessary to protest against the prolongation of the death agony.

It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that better days began to dawn. In 1651, the Bernese government was so greatly alarmed by the prevalence of witchcraft that advice was asked from the spiritual authorities and from the college of physicians of Bern, and also from the medical and legal faculties of Basel. All were agreed in denying the possibility of convincing proofs of witchcraft, and in urging that the greatest caution should be exercised. The theologians, in especial, referred to the untrustworthy character of denunciations received from credulous or revengeful persons, and of the untrustworthiness of confessions extracted by torture. In consequence of this, the Bernese Council issued a decree regarding the trials for witchcraft, recommending the limitation of torture to persons whose guilt had been otherwise established during the investigation, and more particularly, hoping to avoid favouring the spread of the infection, forbidding any enquiry concerning the existence of accomplices.

BOOK III

THE AGE OF THE ARISTOCRACY
1648–1798

CHAPTER XVI

THE ARISTOCRACY AND THE PEASANTS' WAR

In addition to the differences in matters of faith which were twice again to lead to sanguinary civil wars, another contrast of a political and social nature became more and more accentuated—that between lords and subjects, between the ruling towns and their dependent peasants. During the latter half of the sixteenth century, the vigorous democratic spirit which had continued to animate the Swiss commonwealth throughout the period of the Reformation was gradually replaced in the State and in society by aristocratic institutions which remained dominant henceforward until the fall of the Old Confederation.

As an outcome of the manner in which the Cantons had come into existence, it resulted in most cases that the State proper was constituted by the capital town, together with the surrounding rural districts, acquired by purchase or by conquest, constituting a subject territory, so that the civic authorities were at the same time the authorities for the entire Canton, and only the burghers of the capital town were eligible for membership of its ruling councils. So long, however, as every peasant could settle in the town, could there readily acquire burghership, and thus have the way opened to all honours and offices, there was lacking the chief characteristic of aristocracy, the prohibition of rising from below. Thus, even in the seventeenth century, Rudolf Wettstein, the son of a peasant of Zurich, was able to become burgomaster of Basel, just as earlier a peasant of Zug, Hans Waldmann, had become burgomaster of Zurich.

But towards the middle of the sixteenth century there became apparent a tendency to restrict the burghership in the capital town

to those families which then possessed it, and so by this simple means to transform the burghers into a close dominant caste. Difficulties were put in the way of the acceptance of new burghers; they were excluded from the government; and ultimately it came to be a matter of principle that no new burghers should be admitted, so as to avoid having to share with newcomers the advantages of burghership. A few hundred families declared that the capital town, and therewith the right to rule the State, the "governmental capacity," were their own exclusive and perpetual property. The road to office and dignity, to political influence, was permanently closed, not to foreigners alone, not merely to Confederates from other Cantons, but also to the great mass of those who belonged to the same State, to all who had not the good luck to be born of burgher parents. An impassable barrier was erected between town and country. Just as the townsman was an hereditary "lord and burgher," so the inhabitant of the rural districts was now an "hereditary subject," and must submit to the laws and taxes imposed by the former as if they had been a part of the eternal order of things.

Within the aristocracy of the closed burghership there became further developed, in certain of the Swiss towns, Bern, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Solothurn, an aristocracy in the still narrower sense, a so-called "patriciate," for here the possession of power became hereditary or practically so within a narrower circle of civic families, who were elevated over the rest of the burghers like a class of new nobles. The formation of a patriciate was possible where vacancies occurring in the Councils were filled by the sitting members, or where the councillors nominated one another in some more or less artificial manner, so that the bulk of the burghers had no voice in the election, and by arrangement among the sitting councillors all outsiders could be excluded. This was impossible wherever, as in Zurich, the guilds of handicraftsmen had from the days of antiquity taken part in elections and had not allowed themselves to be deprived of their rights. In Basel, Schaffhausen, and St Gall the power of the guilds likewise formed an obstacle to the formation of a patriciate.

The first town in which a patriciate came into existence was Fribourg. Here, from 1600 onwards, a distinction was made between "common" burghers and "privy" (*heimliche*) burghers, the latter

consisting of those who were competent to become members of the "Privy Chamber," the all-powerful electoral authority. The decisive step in the formation of the closed patriciate took place in 1627, when the "privy" burghership was declared to be the exclusive right of those families who were at that time represented in the Great Council, and when it was resolved that in future none but these "privy burghers" could sit in the Small and Great Councils. In contradistinction to the privy burghers (*bourgeois sécrets*) those burgher families who were excluded from participation in the government were termed "petty" burghers (*petits bourgeois*).

In Bern, in 1643, it was determined that those families alone which, prior to that date, had acquired burghership should have a right to take part in the government. All those who were subsequently accepted as citizens were termed "perpetual residents" or "inhabitants," and constituted an inferior class of persons excluded from office, but received a preference over mere "settlers" in respect of permission to own houses and to carry on commerce and industry. It was the duty of a special board, the "Burgher-chamber," to distinguish carefully between the different categories. For the sake of a more exact control, two official registers were instituted. In one of these were entered the names of those burghers who possessed the right to take part in the government; the other contained the names of the "perpetual inhabitants (*ewige Einwohner*)," among whom were reckoned the illegitimate sons of burghers and their descendants. From among the number of the families possessing the right to take part in the government there was distinguished in fact (although not legally) a yet narrower circle of the actually "ruling" families, of those who possessed seats in the Councils, and always pushed their own relatives into offices and dignities. These ruling families, whose circle became continually narrower, constituted the true patriciate of Bern, and regarded themselves as the hereditary lords of that region. Conditions were similar in Solothurn and Lucerne. In the last-named town the seats in the Councils became actually hereditary. When a councillor died, it was taken as a matter of course that his eldest son or other nearest male relative should succeed to his position.

That which happened in the towns was repeated in the democratic rural Cantons. The rural communes of Uri, Schwyz, Glarus, and the Raetian Leagues, determined on principle to accept no new

countrymen (*Landleute*). In the country towns and villages there came into existence closed corporations of burghers, to which entrance could be obtained only by birth or, by leave of the privileged, by purchase at a high rate and by rendering services of all kinds. Since freedom of migration (*freier Zug*), as an ancient Confederate right, could not be completely suppressed, there arose everywhere an inferior class of "settlers" (*Ansässen* or *Beisässen*), consisting of settlers who were not admitted to burgher rights. The settler was not only excluded from all political rights and from enjoyment of the communal lands, but also, generally speaking, from all legal rights; and he was tolerated only in so far as he did not become obnoxious to any burgher or "freed" countryman. Lest the competition of the settlers should send up the price of land for these privileged persons, the former were forbidden to acquire or lease landed property, or permitted only under great restrictions. To prevent them from competing with the burghers, they were excluded from the right to the independent practice of commerce and handicrafts, or were allowed to engage in these occupations only under all conceivable limitations. The settler had no legal right to his habitation; the Damocles' sword of expulsion was ever suspended over his head. Thus, the Swiss who crossed the boundary of the commune in which he had acquired by birth the right of burghership, was a pariah in his own land.

As the burgher bodies came to be closed corporations and the patriciates came into existence, the feeling of power in the governments grew apace. The absolutist idea of rule by the grace of God, characteristic of the seventeenth century, found its way into the Swiss republics. Almost at the same time when the States-General of France were for the last time summoned, in Bern in 1614 the last consultation of the people took place; while in Zurich the Council ventured upon its own initiative to conclude alliances with France, Baden and Venice, thus disregarding the chartered right of the country-folk to have a voice in such alliances, for it was now held to infringe the liberties of the town to take account of the opinions of "purchased subjects."

All too quickly did the Swiss towns suffer from the general fate which befalls all aristocracies that prefer the private advantage of the dominant class to the welfare of the State. In Zurich, the exclusion of the rural inhabitants from all offices of State was

followed by their exclusion from the higher military positions, from study, from the commerce *en gros* and manufacture, and from all respected or lucrative occupations, which became a monopoly of the townsmen. The rural district degenerated into the commercial sphere of influence of the lords in the town, and under cover of the law was relentlessly exploited. It was the same in Basel, Schaffhausen and Lucerne; but to a less extent in Bern, where the patricians avoided commerce and industry as occupations unworthy of them, and therefore had no interest in restricting the privileges of the rural districts in this respect.

After the end of the sixteenth century, the gloomy discontent of the oppressed country people flamed up in revolts which questions of taxation aroused now in one Canton and now in another; and these risings were repressed by the governments with increasing severity. In 1646, in the Canton of Zurich, a revolt occurred in the lordship of Wädenswil and in the bailiwick of Knonau, and was punished with seven capital executions. In 1653, however, a peasants' war broke out, which involved the whole of Central Switzerland and shook the dominion of the towns to its foundations.

During the Thirty Years' War, owing to the large number of fugitives who had sought asylum in Switzerland, and to the export of food for the provisioning of the armies in Germany, the price of agricultural produce had risen to twice or thrice its previous figures; the peasants had earned plenty of money; and the value of their properties had greatly increased. When peace was established and the refugees returned to their homes, the sources of this artificial prosperity suddenly dried up and a grave agrarian crisis resulted. In addition, there was dissatisfaction in consequence of the misgovernment by the bailiffs, who endeavoured to increase their incomes by harsh and unjust fines, and also on account of new taxes which had been introduced during the war. A trifling incident sufficed to raise the storm. Certain debased coins which had been issued during the war were now declared by the Lucerne government to be no longer legal tender, although the holders had been given no opportunity to change them into good money. The resulting discontent flared up into a rising which, starting in the Entlebuch, spread through the Canton of Lucerne as well as through the Cantons of Bern, Solothurn, Basel, and the Freiamt in Aargau.

The insurgents conceived the idea of opposing the "lords'

league" by a "people's league." In the middle of the period of the religious wars the Catholic peasants of Lucerne, Solothurn and the Freiamt, with the Protestant inhabitants of Bern and Basel at Sumiswald and Huttwil, places in the Bernese Emmenthal, called together Swiss popular assemblies so as to bind themselves by a solemn oath and to use their united forces to struggle for and to maintain what they termed their ancient rights and liberties. The peasants did not dream of demanding a share in the government or admission to the Councils. They were prepared to leave to the "lords and to those in authority" the things that were theirs; but all the "baleful" innovations and taxes were to be done away with, and the ancient rights and liberties of every district were to be re-established. Every ten years the people's league was to be renewed; and by this body account was to be taken of the grievances suffered by the subjects of every Canton. Nicholas Leuenberger, a respected countryman of the Emmenthal, son of an Anabaptist, was appointed president of the peasants' league under the title of *Obmann* (Overman), while Hans Emmenegger, the local military chief, was chosen commander of the forces of the Entlebuch. Throughout the disturbed districts the peasants took up arms in order to force the governments to recognise their league. Those who would not join in the rising were regarded as traitors. The "hards," as the rebels named themselves, threatened to burn the dwellings of the "softs," that is to say, the adherents of the government, cut off their beards, and even slit their ears, in order to be able to recognise them.

Can we suppose that a victory of the peasants would have turned Switzerland into more favourable paths? The leaders of the revolt had no definite political aims; their views were far too much directed backwards into the middle ages. Their plan of constituting a peasants' league as a controlling force side by side with the lords' league of the governments could hardly have secured any other result than the paralysis of all state authority, the dissolution of Switzerland into a multitude of petty peasant republics, in which particularist interests would have gained the victory over those of the nation.

Vainly did the alarmed governments endeavour to come to terms with the insurgents. Confident of victory, the peasants increased their demands to such an extent that, could they have been enforced, the governments would not have possessed even a shadow of

authority. The latter, therefore, determined upon common action, promising one another help independent of distinctions of creed or political constitution. The rural Cantons, too, embittered by the infringement of their rights in the "common bailiwicks," placed themselves upon the side of the towns. The Swiss Diet resolved to raise three armies: one from the rural Cantons, for the protection of Lucerne; a second from the Canton of Zurich and from East Switzerland, whose people were unaffected by the rising, to occupy Aargau; and a third, from West Switzerland, to protect Rome. The peasants, however, were beforehand with the governments. Leuenberger advanced against Bern with 20,000 men, and forced the government to a peace in which great concessions were made to the insurgents, but under the insidious condition that the Bernese peasants should lay down their arms and should withdraw from the Huttwil league. Meanwhile, the Zurichers and the East Swiss, a force of 9000 men, had invaded the Freiamt. Peasants from Lucerne, Solothurn and Basel came to the assistance of those in the Freiamt. Leuenberger also followed with a portion of his troops, thus giving the Bernese rulers the desired excuse to declare that the peace they had just signed had been broken. On June 3rd, at Wohlenschwil, near the little town of Mellingen, the peasants attacked the army of Zurich. The well-served artillery of this force inspired the peasants with such respect that, after skirmishing for a time, they began to despair of the possibility of a victory and asked for a truce. On the following day Waser, burgomaster of Zurich, arranged a peace by which the peasants agreed to lay down their arms immediately, to dissolve their league, and to settle their differences with the governments by a friendly arrangement or by legal procedure. The peasants thereupon dispersed. The Lucerne men, alone, joined a force which for the past fortnight had been investing the town of Lucerne. A sally was made on June 5th by the governmental troops, and at Gislikon a fierce struggle took place. Although this was indecisive, among the peasants of Lucerne also the longing for peace got the upper hand; they agreed to accept the arbitrament of the rural Cantons, which condemned them to the handing over of twelve ringleaders. Leuenberger, too, would have been ready to lay down arms if the Bernese government would have recognised the peace concluded at Mellingen by the Zurich men. Meanwhile, however, Zurich had been reinforced by troops from Vaud, Geneva

and Neuchâtel; and their general, Sigismund von Erlach, received orders to proceed against the rebels regardless of that peace. On June 8th the troops which Leuenberger had again collected were routed at Herzogenbuchsee.

Thus, the peasants' rising was crushed and the patricians gained a decisive victory. The rulers now thirsted to exact revenge for the anxiety and distress they had suffered. Waser and others counselled mildness, but in vain. Everywhere the "ringleaders" were hunted down, and their punishment was effected in part by Confederate courts-martial, and in part by the several Cantonal governments. More than forty death sentences were carried out, Leuenberger being decapitated in Bern and Emmenegger hanged in Lucerne; others had their tongues and ears slit; some were flogged, some sent to the Venetian galleys, and some impoverished by heavy fines. The rebellious districts had to defray the costs of the war. Henceforward Switzerland was quiet. The subjects were afraid of the governments which had used the rope and the scaffold with such vigour. Everyone who ventured to think of a rising or to utter a word in its favour knew that he was risking his head. On the other hand, the lessons of the peasants' war were not completely lost upon the rulers. Bern announced to its subjects that reasonable complaints against the officials would always receive attention from those in authority; and bailiffs who were proved to have acted unjustly were punished by deposition from office, banishment, and enforced restoration of unlawfully extorted moneys. A further lesson which the governments learned from the revolt was that an increase of taxation was permissible only in cases of the direst necessity. They endeavoured henceforward to meet the financial needs of the State out of their domains and governmental monopolies, and out of the customary ground-rents, tithes, customs dues, etc.; and further, by cutting down public expenditure as much as possible, they succeeded in rendering taxes superfluous. Through this relief from taxation of the subjects, on the one hand, through the subjects' fear of the executioner, and the reciprocal pledges of assistance of the Swiss governments, on the other, the persistence and further development of the Swiss patricians were rendered possible. They continued to rule the country in peace, with but few exceptions, for nearly a century and a half more.

CHAPTER XVII

PROTESTANT SWITZERLAND AND OLIVER CROMWELL. THE FIRST VILLMERGEN WAR

After the Thirty Years' War armed neutrality towards foreign powers was the fixed political policy of Switzerland; and foreign powers became accustomed to regard this principle as firmly established by the Swiss, although attempts were occasionally made to induce them to depart from it. In accordance with the prevailing views of international law, the existence of defensive alliances and military capitulations with individual powers did not conflict with neutrality. More especially the defensive alliance with France did not infringe the current conceptions of neutrality, for this alliance did no more than give the king of France permission to recruit in Switzerland, without furnishing any guarantee that the recruits would be forthcoming. Moreover, a kind of balance became established, inasmuch as in addition to mercenary service in France, Swiss mercenaries enlisted also under the flags of the enemies of France, namely Spain, Austria, and Savoy, and ultimately also Holland and England.

The alliance which in 1602 the Confederates had concluded with Henry IV for his life-time and that of his son, lapsed in 1651. The Swiss had had so much occasion to complain of breaches of the alliance through the effecting of recruitments in ways conflicting with the terms of the treaty, through the misapplication of the recruited force, and also through arrears in matters of pay and pensions amounting to millions, that the Swiss Diet determined to refuse the renewal of the alliance until France had complied with the just demands of the Swiss and had redressed their grievances. The colonels of the Swiss regiments in France received orders to quit the French service on March 30th, 1653. The interests of the ruling families were, however, so strongly involved in the French mercenary service, that no serious breach with the great bread-giver could be effected; and the general venality of the rulers provided the French ambassador with ways and means enough to overcome

their scruples. The first to give way was the town of Solothurn, where the patriciate was little more than the court society of the French ambassador who resided within its walls; her departure from the Confederate resolution took place while the peasants' war was still in progress. The other Catholic Cantons followed suit. We know the amount disbursed by the ambassador to gain this end; he bought the entire Borromean League for 348,000 livres.

This disgraceful repudiation by the Catholic Cantons of a solemn resolution of the Swiss Diet aroused so much ill-feeling among the Protestant Cantons as to lead them to think seriously of a closer union among themselves and also of seeking support abroad. England appeared to them a favourable Power to approach. The relations with the island kingdom which had been instituted by the Protestant Cantons in the days of Edward VI and Elizabeth had continued under James I and Charles I. At the beginning of the English Revolution the Swiss towns had done what they could to appease the domestic quarrel in the friendly Protestant realm, sending letters to Charles I, Archbishop Laud, the Covenanters, and the Long Parliament. Subsequently the great naval war which, to the profound regret of the Protestant Swiss, broke out in 1652 between the English Commonwealth and the Dutch Republic, gave occasion for even closer associations. After two urgent exhortations sent to both the Protestant naval powers, warning them against delighting Catholic Europe by the spectacle of a fraternal dispute, had proved fruitless, in the spring of 1653 the four Protestant towns despatched to London John Jacob Stockar of Schaffhausen, the Town Clerk and a good linguist, to offer the mediation of the Protestant Confederation. Stockar received a respectful hearing from a Committee of the Parliament, and after this body had been forcibly dissolved by Oliver Cromwell, from the Protector himself. Cromwell confidentially explained to the envoy his plans for an understanding between all the Protestant States, and for a close alliance between England, Holland, and Reformed Switzerland. The Protector considered that the non-partisan Swiss envoy could render real service as an intermediary with Holland, and therefore retained him in England until the following year. Stockar's mediation was no mere formality; he was able to effect a notable mitigation of the English demands from Holland, and thus rendered peace possible. The treaty of peace of April 15th, 1654, named the Protestant

Cantons as arbitrators in all disputes regarding which Holland and England could not come to terms. Although subsequently it became manifest that the inhabitants of an inland nation like the Swiss were hardly suited for the settlement of disputes between naval powers, it was recognised in a special article in the treaty of peace that the Protestant Swiss Cantons had performed a real service to both republics through their mediation and through the ability of their envoy. Moreover, both Cromwell and the States General of the Netherlands expressed their gratitude in special despatches.

In May, 1654, two envoys from Cromwell, John Durie (Duräus), the theologian, and John Pell, the learned mathematician, arrived at Zurich, empowered to do what they could to hinder the renewal of the alliance between Protestant Switzerland and France, and to bring about an Anglo-Swiss alliance. The two Englishmen were warmly received in Zurich, but from that to an alliance the distance was very far. Since Cromwell himself effected a *rapprochement* with France, he dropped the idea of the Swiss alliance; but the friendly relations between England and Switzerland did not remain without effect.

In the beginning of 1655, Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, was induced by the Congregation for the Diffusion of the Catholic Faith to undertake a terrible war of extermination against the Waldenses. For centuries these had led a wretched existence in the upland valleys of Piedmont, sometimes unmolested and sometimes persecuted, but regarded by the Protestants as brothers in the faith. Upon the appeal of these unfortunates for help, Geneva moved the Protestant Cantons to undertake a diplomatic intervention. Since this had no result, the Protestant Swiss appealed to Würtemberg, Hesse, the Palatinate, Brandenburg, Sweden, and Holland, and above all to the powerful Lord Protector, who took up the matter with zeal. Cromwell caused a despatch, composed by Milton, to be sent to all the Protestant princes and estates, wherein he proposed joint action for the protection of their oppressed brethren. Cromwell's envoy, Pell, spoke even more plainly, advising without circumlocution the Protestant Cantons to make an armed attack upon Savoy. But burgomaster Waser and others made it clear to the Englishman that this would involve them in a war with the Catholic Cantons, which were specially allied with Savoy, and would perhaps lead to a rupture with France as well. Consequently the

Swiss towns confined themselves to sending a new embassy to Turin, and in this way attained to some extent their end, especially since the French court, out of regard for England, likewise interceded in favour of the persecuted Waldenses. Through the mediation of the French ambassador, a " Patent of Grace and Pardon " was signed at the castle of Pignerol in the presence of the Swiss on August 18th, 1655; and this secured peace for the Waldenses for a time. Cromwell, indeed, was by no means satisfied with the result, for the Swiss had not been able to effect that in the Patent they should be named as mediators beside the king of France, and consequently the duke was able to revoke it as soon as Louis XIV abandoned the Waldenses.

The Catholic Cantons were extremely perturbed at the presence of an English resident in Zurich, and at the Swiss Diet they reproached the Protestant Cantons for interfering in the affairs of the duke of Savoy, the ally of the Catholic Cantons. The negotiations about the Waldenses had reawakened religious passion, so that both parties devised schemes of mobilisation, and Bern once more mooted the idea of a separate Protestant league. But, when the matter came to be discussed, burgomaster Waser of Zurich suggested that the first thing to think of was an improvement of the Confederate leagues. The old leagues and agreements, which only bound the Cantons in separate groups, and which differed from one another greatly in their terms, should be replaced by a treaty of alliance, establishing equal rights for all its members and imposing upon all equal duties. This patriotic endeavour to reunite the divided religious camps to form a powerful league and to give the Confederation a genuine federal constitution did not at first fail of response on the part of the Catholic Cantons. All too soon, however, did the better impulses cede to the old and deeply rooted mistrust on the part of the religious factions. The papal nuncio urgently exhorted the Catholic Cantons against the plans of Waser, and incited them instead to renew the Borromean league, a renewal which was actually effected on October 3rd, 1655. Thus was the old wound reopened; and an unforeseen incident fanned the flames of passion so as to produce a religious war.

In the little town of Arth (Canton Schwyz) on the lake of Zug the Protestant faith had found numerous secret adherents. When at length suspicion was aroused, and persecution threatened,

seven families consisting of thirty-eight persons fled by night to Zurich. Here they were well received; and the Zurich government requested the government of Schwyz to hand over the personal property of the immigrants, as had been done by Zurich in the case of converts to Catholicism who had been compelled on that account to leave its domains. Schwyz, however, demanded the surrender of the "perjured rebels," and confiscated the property of the refugees. Zurich maintained that every Confederate had the right to remove, with his property, whithersoever he pleased; but Schwyz refused even to submit the matter to Confederate arbitration. Zurich thereupon reminded Schwyz how long before in the old Zurich war it had been overwhelmed on account of such a refusal on the part of Schwyz and all the other Confederates, and prepared now to take up arms, particularly as Schwyz was proceeding with barbarous cruelty against the Protestants who still remained. Twenty-two persons were arrested and put to torture; four, among whom was an old woman, were decapitated; and three persons, two of them women, were handed over to the Inquisition in Milan. While the central Cantons made common cause with Schwyz, Bern placed herself on the side of Zurich. Both towns were resolved to break the power of the Catholic Cantons, which had so often been misused for the oppression of the Protestants. Since what they lacked was not men but money, they applied through Pell to Cromwell, and the latter was ready to supply them with £20,000 in four instalments. But, before the English money had been despatched, matters had already been decided in Switzerland to the disadvantage of the Protestants.

In the middle of winter, in the beginning of 1656, Zurich opened the campaign, in the hope of securing a victory before the season would render it possible for the Spaniards to send reinforcements across the Alps from Lombardy to the Five Cantons. Instead, however, of forming a junction in the Freiamt with the Bernese, Rudolf Werdmüller, the Zurich general, rashly obstinate, led his army to Rapperswyl at the head of the lake of Zurich, and wasted his forces in the investment of this town, which was strongly fortified and was successfully defended by the citizens with the aid of a garrison from the Forest Cantons.

Meanwhile 7500 Bernese, led by Sigismund von Erlach, the victor of Herzogenbuchsee, had invaded the Freiamt, and were en-

camped at the village of Villmergen. While the general was passing his time beside the warm stove in the castle of Lensburg and the troops were engaged in undisciplined rapine, there assembled in all stillness a Catholic force of 4600 men from Lucerne and the Freiamt, led by the standard-bearer Christopher Pfyffer, an energetic soldier. On January 24th, undismayed by the preponderant strength of the enemy, he led his troops to the attack; and, although the Bernese had found time to array themselves in order of battle, they were routed at the first onslaught. The defeated force left on the field at Villmergen 573 dead, numerous prisoners, nine flags, ten guns, twenty baggage-waggons, and the war-chest. This disgraceful defeat, together with the threats of France that if peace were not speedily concluded she would send support to the Catholics as her special allies, compelled Bern and Zurich to lay down their arms without having secured any of their demands. Upon receipt of news that peace had been concluded, Cromwell naturally regarded the proposed loan to the two towns as cancelled. In 1658 he withdrew his envoy from Switzerland, leaving the field free for Louis XIV, with whom in the meantime he had formed a close alliance against Spain.

CHAPTER XVIII

SWITZERLAND AND LOUIS XIV

DURING the first Villmergen War the French envoy, Labarde, had skilfully played the part of mediator, while simultaneously giving a firm support to the Catholic Cantons, which favoured the French party. It was, however, of great importance to France to extend her field for recruiting to the thickly populated Protestant Cantons; and these, with the exception of the Grisons, gradually withdrew their opposition, all the more readily since the private interests of the patricians were reinforced by the prudent consideration that the transformation of the French alliance into a separate league between France and Catholic Switzerland would involve the Protestant Cantons in very serious danger. In 1663, a numerous embassy from all the thirteen Cantons and their Allies was despatched to Paris, headed by burgomaster Waser of Zurich. In the French capital the rough-looking, long-bearded Helvetians attracted no small attention; and in Notre Dame the envoys joined with Louis XIV in swearing a formal treaty of alliance—a scene which by the king's orders was commemorated by the painter Le Brun in a magnificent Gobelin tapestry.

The star of France shone brilliantly under the young and self-conscious monarch, who had the finest fortresses and the strongest army in the world, and whose court was the admired model of the whole of Europe. With this power, that aspired to the dominion of the world, Switzerland was intimately associated by a thousand traditional bonds of public and yet more of private interest. In earlier days the Swiss troops had always been enlisted for the duration of a specific campaign, and discharged as soon as peace was concluded. Under Louis XIV, Swiss military service in France assumed a different character. So early as 1616, a permanent regiment of Guards had been established; and in 1671 the king began to transform the regiments of the line, like the Guards, into a standing army. Thus he had always in his service thousands of soldiers and hundreds of officers; and in this way for the first time

the interests of the Swiss patricians now became definitely attached to his person. France had developed the granting of pensions to the Swiss into a regular system. Through the distribution of annual secret payments and individual gifts, through the bestowal of knightly orders, military commissions, and other favours, the king secured in the Confederate Councils an army of purchased adherents who worked always in the French interest and kept France fully informed of all that was going on. It is not surprising that the powerful *roi soleil* came to deal with Switzerland as a province bought with his money rather than as an ally. In the days of Louis XIV, Switzerland would have sunk to the position of a simple instrument in the hands of France, had it not been for the preservation of certain vestiges of Confederate national pride, as well as the conflicting Spanish-Austrian contrary influences at work in the Catholic regions, and the increasing hostility felt in the Protestant Cantons towards the persecutor of their faith.

In the perpetual convention concluded with the house of Habsburg in the year 1511, the Confederates had undertaken, in return for a small annual payment, to exercise a "faithful supervision" over the neighbouring Habsburg territories, and in especial over Franche-Comté. What the exact meaning of the phrase might be, no one could say. The Confederates, though they had never repudiated the idea of a possible obligation of helping in a war, refused to admit that the Habsburg States could demand from them such help as a right. They had, however, regularly, and until 1659 successfully, secured neutrality in the wars between France and the house of Habsburg for Franche-Comté. When Louis XIV refused to recognise this neutrality any longer, and thereby betrayed his designs upon the country, the Swiss Diet in 1667 passed vigorous resolutions in favour of its defence. Thereupon, the king's threat to withhold the pensions to the Swiss sufficed to lead the great majority of the Cantons and especially the Catholic Cantons, to move for the rescinding of these resolutions. Consequently in 1668 the prince of Condé was able to occupy Franche-Comté, as the Swiss had taken no measures for its protection. It is true that they could plead in their justification that those whose first duty it was to defend the country, Spain and the Empire, had not raised a finger on its behalf.

The annexation of this neutral intermediate land aroused the

Swiss, both Catholic and Protestant, to this extent, that in 1668 they created a Confederate military organisation, the so-called *Defensionale*, "for the protection of their so dearly won and glorious liberties." Hitherto the military system had been left entirely to the preferences of each individual Canton. Now a Confederate council of war was provided for the case of war, and it was definitely laid down how many men and how many weapons each Canton was to hold ready for a common enterprise; details were also fixed regarding equipment and the appointment of the commander-in-chief and the higher officers. This was the first advance in federal organisation effected since the Reformation, and it was the last until 1798. Unfortunately even here the lamentable influences of the religious schism made themselves felt. In addition to the thirteen Cantons and their subject territories, only the abbot and the town of St Gall, Bienne, and to a certain degree the Valais, were included within the framework of this Confederate system of defence of the frontiers; the Grisons, Neuchâtel, Mühlhausen, and Geneva remained outside the armed community constituted by the *Defensionale*. Moreover, the Catholic rural Cantons severed themselves a few years later from the "heretical work"; and the other Cantons lacked courage and energy to compel them to observe the Confederate understanding which had been established by a unanimous resolution and fortified by a sealed charter. The majority, however, held firm, so that Switzerland was at least in a position, during the endless wars which raged round her frontiers in the age of Louis XIV, to prevent (with a few trifling exceptions) foreign armies from invading her territory, and to maintain her much envied neutrality, even while her mercenaries were fighting on all the battle-fields of Europe.

Twenty-five thousand Swiss mercenaries took part in the invasion of Holland by Louis XIV. Many were full of shame and sorrow at the miserable rôle of hirelings assumed by the Swiss in this attack upon the Dutch republic, so closely akin in nature to Switzerland. It was in vain, however, that Zurich, which alone had refused to furnish recruits, proposed to the Protestant Cantons to recall their mercenaries, for the ruling families had too strong an interest in the game. More agreeable is it to record the little-known fact that during the Dutch war Protestant Swiss helped to defend Strassburg against a French attack. In virtue of an alliance which Zurich and Bern had in 1588 concluded with the friendly imperial town in Alsace

these two Swiss cities sent a reinforcement of 900 men who continued until the peace of Nimeguen (1678) to take a vigorous part in the protection of that important frontier fortress. Two years later, in time of peace, Strassburg was seized (1681), by a cleverly planned French *coup de main*, without the town having had an opportunity to send for help to Zurich and Bern. Great uneasiness was also caused among the Protestant Confederates by the erection of a strong fortress close to Basel when the fortification of Hüningen was undertaken in 1679. The Protestant Cantons demanded of the Swiss Diet that representations should be made to the king against the erection of this fortress. But the Catholic Cantons saw nothing amiss in the threatening of a Protestant town by French cannon; and the French fortification rose menacingly over against the Swiss frontier. Basel was within range of the guns; and upon one of them were graven the words, *Si tu te remues, Bâle, je te tue.*

The sympathies of the Protestant Swiss for the French king were utterly extinguished by the cruel persecution of the Huguenots, which culminated in 1685 in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and in the prohibition, under penalty of death, of adhesion to any other religion than the Roman Catholic. Although emigration was forbidden under pain of condemnation to the galleys or of death, thousands of the persecuted Protestants succeeded in making their way through the chain of posts established in the Jura, and found an asylum in Geneva, Vaud, or elsewhere in Protestant Switzerland. In the years 1687 to 1710 Zurich expended on their behalf 425,587 gulden; and Geneva is recorded to have spent for 60,000 refugees in the course of the years 1682 to 1720 more than 5,000,000 gulden. Just as had formerly been done by the Locarno refugees, the Huguenots repaid this hospitality by introducing new branches of industry, and by improvements in the manufacture of cotton and silk. The majority, however, went further afield, and the governments of Zurich, Bern, and Basel were glad to furnish them with travelling expenses and to assist them on their way to the dominions of the friendly German princes, who, after the devastations of the Thirty Years' War, could find a good use for such colonists.

Simultaneously the duke of Savoy renewed the persecution of the Waldenses. Bern and Zurich again endeavoured to alleviate the lot of the unhappy mountain folk by diplomatic intervention, but vainly on this occasion, since now they had no Cromwell to back

them up. After the new year, 1687, in the severest winter weather, thousands of Waldenses entered Geneva as fugitives; and the Protestant Cantons arranged for their reception in South Germany. But, when the European war broke out (1689), they returned in crowds to Switzerland. Their longing for the Piedmontese mountains outweighed all other considerations; and they determined to make their way home from Vaud by force of arms. Their leader, the preacher Arnaud, communicated the plan to the French king's great opponent, William of Orange, and received the approval of this monarch. Dutch agents induced the Protestant Cantons to wink at their movements. Under Arnaud's leadership, the Waldenses assembled by the lake of Geneva, crossed the lake from Nyon in August, 1689, during the night, and with incredible boldness marched right across Savoy so as to regain their own valleys. A sudden change in the politics of Savoy opened a better future for these valiant heroes of the faith. Duke Victor Amadeus II broke with Louis XIV and joined the Allies, declaring at the same time an amnesty for the Waldenses on condition that they should defend Piedmont against the French. Arnaud invited those who had still remained in foreign parts to return home. Now was to be seen the remarkable spectacle of thousands of these arch-heretics returning peacefully through Lombardy to Piedmont under the protection of the envoys of Spain and Savoy. The Waldenses, however, demanded and secured an irrevocable edict of toleration, which was on this occasion guaranteed by the Protestant Swiss Cantons.

In proportion as the Protestant Swiss turned away from France, they drew nearer to her opponents, and especially to the Protestant naval powers. In Switzerland, as throughout the Protestant world, inexpressible relief was felt when James II of England, the vassal of Louis XIV, was dethroned, and his place taken by William III of Orange, the great champion of European freedom against the Bourbons' attempt to win universal empire. A number of citizens of Geneva celebrated the event by drinking the health of king William beneath the windows of the French ambassador. England and Holland endeavoured to take advantage of these sentiments to detach the Protestant Cantons from the French alliance and to win them over to the side of the Allies. Thomas Coxe, an English envoy, came to Switzerland with the proposal for an alliance and for the recruiting of 4000 men. The French ambassador

said mockingly that in the Protestant towns Coxe was received as if he were the Messiah; but the understanding ultimately broke down, because William of Orange refused to agree to a proviso limiting the use of the Swiss troops to the defensive, and the Cantons hesitated to face the open breach with France that would have resulted from the omission of this proviso.

The Dutch envoy, Peter Valkenier, was more successful. He took up his residence in Zurich; and, notwithstanding all the counter-efforts of the French ambassador, this town, on May 5th, 1693, concluded a military capitulation with the "puissant States General of the United Netherlands." Bern, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, and the Grisons followed this example. It was a victory of Holland over Louis XIV, and was worth as much as the winning of a battle. Recruiting began immediately; and at the end of the war 29,000 Swiss upon the French side were opposed by 9000 upon the Dutch. Holland also had had to promise that the Swiss regiments should be used for defensive purposes only, but they were in fact employed in the offensive also whenever Holland thought fit, on the ground that France on her side was not in the habit of troubling about the exact wording of the treaties, and upon the further ground that upon the Dutch side the whole war was one of defence. In addition to the Swiss sent to Holland, Protestant and Catholic Cantons had agreed to supply the Emperor with a regiment for the protection of Austrian possessions on the Rhine. There were also regiments in Spanish and in Savoyard service. Consequently during the Palatine war there were at least 40,000 Swiss in the field on the two sides; but this did not prevent the powers from expressly recognising Swiss neutrality.

All the world was at this time desirous of securing Swiss troops. Swiss mercenaries were fighting for Venice in the Morea and in Dalmatia; both the republic of Genoa and the king of Poland recruited forces in Switzerland; at various courts it was the fashion to have a Swiss guard; and such guards were retained by the Pope, the king of France, the dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, the prince of Orange, the Elector Palatine, and even the Elector of Brandenburg. Many Swiss went abroad on their own account to seek their fortune in a military career, and many were successful. The most striking example was that of the Genevese, Francis Lefort (ob. 1699), the intimate friend and boon-companion of Peter the Great, who loaded

him with honours and wealth and appointed him a Russian general and a grand admiral.

In the war of the Spanish Succession the Confederates once more secured a written declaration both from the Emperor and from Louis XIV that these rulers would respect the neutrality of Confederate territory. Just as little as before did this neutrality hinder the Swiss from engaging as mercenaries in the service of the belligerent powers. As usual, the largest number, 25,000, went to France, which was supplied with recruits chiefly from the Catholic Cantons. In addition, 6000 Swiss engaged in the service of Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV, recognised by the Catholic Cantons as king of Spain. The Protestant Swiss, on the other hand, engaged mainly in the Dutch service; and in 1712 Bern even concluded a secret defensive alliance with Holland. In 1702 there were 11,200 Swiss in the Dutch army; subsequently the number was increased to 16,000, and it was even hoped to raise the figure to 25,000. Moreover, the Cantons of both faiths sent two regiments, numbering 4800 men, for the protection of the Austrian territories on the Rhine, and two regiments numbering 4900 men, to the duke of Savoy. Altogether, in this murderous war, there were engaged on both sides more than 50,000 real or reputed Swiss, which marks the climax of the Swiss mercenary service. It is obvious that in such circumstances the Swiss forces must inevitably from time to time come into conflict. At Ramillies and Oudenarde Swiss regiments fought with distinction on both sides; and at Malplaquet, in 1709, there was actually a bayonet struggle between two Bernese regiments, in the French and the Dutch service respectively.

In the distribution of these mercenaries the internal severance of the Confederation was plainly manifest. Whereas, for the Catholic Cantons, the ancient antagonism between Spain and France completely ceased with the transference of the Spanish crown to a Bourbon, so that these Cantons became subject more than ever to the influence of France, the Protestant Cantons regarded France with ill-concealed hostility, and maintained the most intimate relationships with the Allies—Great Britain, Holland, and the Emperor. In Zurich and Bern, people rejoiced at the victories of Marlborough and of Prince Eugene as if they had been their own; and Bern took advantage of the repeated defeats of Louis XIV to snatch a threatened Swiss territory from the claws of France.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DISPUTE CONCERNING THE NEUCHÂTEL SUCCESSION, AND THE SECOND VILLMERGEN WAR

The county, or, as it was called in the second half of the sixteenth century, the principality of Neuchâtel, ran a continually increasing danger of becoming part of France, because the ruling family of the land, related by blood to the king of France and owing him allegiance, held much property also in France and commonly lived in that country. In the later half of the seventeenth century the house of Longueville was approaching extinction; and prolonged legal proceedings relating to inheritance and guardianship took place. The king and the French tribunals disposed of the Longueville property in France; and it seemed a matter of course that the same authorities would deal with the principality of Neuchâtel. The best heads in Neuchâtel, however, conceived the idea of seizing the first opportunity of putting an end to the existing régime, by which Neuchâtel was degraded to the position of a French fief. In 1694 the male line of the Longuevilles died out, and a Bourbon, the prince of Conti, claimed the inheritance; this claim being opposed by the duchess Marie of Nemours as the last representative of the Longuevilles. Bern encouraged the Neuchâtelois to refer the decision of this disputed succession, in accordance with ancient practice, to their own highest judicial authority, "the Tribunal of the Three Estates"; and this body assigned the principality to the duchess of Nemours. In 1699, when the parlement of Paris declared, on the contrary, the prince of Conti to be the rightful heir, and the latter hastened to Neuchâtel to take possession of the principality, Bern occupied the town with a garrison. At the suggestion of the Bernese, the citizens of Neuchâtel, Valangin, Boudry and Landeron formed a union, styled "Union of the Corporations and Communes," to protect the independence of the principality, and declared that the duchess had been invested by due form of law, and that any challenge of her right by a foreign tribunal was an infringement of the constitution and

liberties of the country. When Louis XIV threatened to send his troops also into the town, the Bernese force was withdrawn; but Bern made it impossible for the prince of Conti to take possession of the heritage by insisting obstinately on the point that the tribunal of Neuchâtel was alone competent to deal with the succession, and by protracting the affair until Louis XIV recalled the pretender, and left the duchess of Nemours in peace for a time. The French king had to take into account the interests of a new claimant, William III of England.

Montmollin, the chancellor of Neuchâtel, in a memorial to William of Orange, the principal adversary of Louis XIV, and in connivance with the Bernese statesmen, had drawn the attention of the English king, as heir of the counts of Châlon-sur-Saône to an overlordship which in the year 1288 the then count had imposed upon the counts of Neuchâtel. It is true that this overlordship had been completely in abeyance for two centuries and was indeed legally extinct; for in several European treaties, to which the house of Orange had been a party, Neuchâtel had without protest been recognised as a sovereign principality. William III, however, acted upon Montmollin's suggestion, and in the peace of Ryswick (1697) officially put forward his claims upon Neuchâtel. Before his death he ceded his rights to his nephew, Frederick I of Prussia, who entered into a very close understanding with the Bernese so as to decide the succession in an anti-French sense. The acquisition of Neuchâtel by Prussia was merely to be the prelude to a far more important undertaking. It was the aim of the Allies to regain Franche-Comté from France, and for this the acquisition of Neuchâtel was to be a bridge. Thus in the matter of the Neuchâtel succession the same parties were opposed as in the war of the Spanish Succession; and on neither side was money spared or were promises lacking to gain support.

On June 16th, 1707, when the duchess of Nemours died and the house of Longueville became extinct, claims were put in by no less than thirteen pretenders, some of whom applied in person and others by attorney. All recognised the Neuchâtel "Tribunal of the Three Estates," as the competent authority. Louis XIV also declared that he would leave to the Estates a free choice of the best entitled of the French pretenders; but if his subjects, who alone had any genuine rights to the inheritance, should be set aside in favour

of the chimerical claims of a prince who was his personal enemy, the country would suffer from the consequences of his just anger. Fortunately, after the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Turin, this threat produced less effect than would have been the case at the outset of the war.

At first, however, it seemed as if the prince of Conti would emerge as victor in the struggle. But the prince thought he could perceive indications that the king was exhibiting a preference for the Sire de Matignon, a simple nobleman, over himself, a prince of the blood, and was doing more to promote the former's interest than his. Greatly enraged, he suddenly left Neuchâtel, directing his own adherents to espouse the cause of the Prussian party. On November 3rd, 1707, the tribunal decided in favour of the king of Prussia; whereupon the king solemnly confirmed the rights and liberties of the Neuchâtelois, and their ancient alliance with the Confederates. Louis XIV declared an embargo on all trade with Neuchâtel, and threatened to employ force; whereupon Bern sent an army of 4300 men to the principality. It was, however, impossible for Louis to think seriously of attacking Neuchâtel, for this would have served merely to throw the Protestant Cantons into the arms of the Allies and would have given the latter the desired excuse for carrying out an invasion of Franche-Comté. In the peace of Utrecht (1713) the king of France was compelled to recognise the king of Prussia as lord of Neuchâtel.

There can be no doubt that the issue of the trial of 1707 was decided by political and not by legal considerations. Frederick I of Prussia became lord of Neuchâtel, not because he had the best legal title to this position, but because Bern, in the well-understood interest of the Confederation, was unwilling to allow the important gate of the Jura to fall into the hands of France; also because the Neuchâtelois themselves preferred the Protestant prince, whose influence was centred at a point too remote for him to threaten their liberties, and who was powerful enough to be independent of French favour.

During the war of the Spanish Succession all the Powers upon whose support the Catholic Cantons were accustomed to reckon were engaged in conflict. Since interference from without was thus no longer to be feared, the plan gradually ripened in Zurich and Bern of overthrowing at length the unnatural preponderance of the

the Borromean League. It had hitherto proved impossible to secure from the Catholic Cantons a straightforward recognition of the parity of the two creeds. In the "common bailiwicks," their bailiffs were continually devising new petty tyrannies against the Protestants. If in the Swiss Diet the representatives of Zurich and Bern brought these matters up for discussion, the Catholic envoys simply shouted "Vote them down, vote them down!", and in virtue of their majority refused to discuss the matter further. In like manner the Catholics refused to have a Protestant as secretary of the Diet, so that the Protestants had reason to complain of the partisan drafting of official documents. Nor would the Catholics allow that in Baden, where as a rule since the Reformation the common sittings of the Swiss Diet had taken place, Protestant services should be held for the envoys of the Protestant Cantons.

Just as in the "common bailiwicks," so also in the principality of the abbot of St Gall, there was no end to religious disputes. The religious freedom which, after the battle of Kappel, had been secured for Zwingli's home did not protect the Protestants of the Toggenburg from grave oppression; the abbots and their Catholic bailiffs deliberately endeavouring to reduce the numbers of the Protestants and to effect their conversion. The Protestants were excluded from offices and dignities, and all possible hindrances were imposed in the way of Protestant religious services. The Protestants were not allowed to sing psalms or to instruct children. Pastor and congregations were forced to keep Catholic festivals and to observe Catholic usages. Vacant pastorates were often intentionally left unoccupied; and yet the parishioners were forbidden to look round for pastors to be maintained at their own charges. The most trifling manifestation against the Catholic faith was punished as a crime; the circulation of favourite Protestant devotional books was forbidden; and such books were confiscated when found in private houses, as were Bibles, Protestant catechisms, and Protestant hymn-books.

In the Toggenburg, however, it was not only the Protestants, but the Catholic inhabitants as well, who were discontented on account of the autocratic methods which had been adopted by the government of their ecclesiastical princes during the seventeenth century. When abbot Leodegar commanded the communes to construct a road through the Hummel forest, to facilitate military

communication with the Catholic Cantons in the event of a religious war, the Toggenburgers, without distinction of creed, scenting in this order an attempt to re-establish the corvée from which they had long ago freed themselves by purchase, refused. In the protracted dispute which ensued, they received powerful support from Zurich and Bern. The two towns sent an embassy to the abbot demanding for the Toggenburgers religious freedom and respect of ancient rights. When the abbot refused, the towns invited the Toggenburgers to take possession of these rights; and the freedom-loving little community did not require a second invitation. Catholics and Protestants flocked to popular assemblies, elected an Executive Council for themselves, and swore to maintain their liberties.

Just as the Zurich men and the Bernese had espoused the cause of the Toggenburgers, so did the Catholic Cantons rally to the side of the prince-abbot, for they considered that the introduction of complete religious freedom into the valley would be an injury to their creed. At first they endeavoured to induce the Catholic Toggenburgers to desert the common cause. In 1712, when these tactics had succeeded in regard to the majority of the Catholics, the Protestants of Toggenburg took up arms, and forcibly occupied the renegade communes. At the same time Zurich and Bern sent troops against the abbot, conquered his principal stronghold, the town of Wyl at the lower end of the Toggenburg, and, when the abbot and his monks fled to Germany, took over his domains, and regarded the treasures of the monastery as lawful booty.

The Five Cantons did not venture to give direct assistance to the abbot, but they summoned the militia in the Freiamt and in the county of Baden and occupied the "common bailiwicks" with their troops in order to cut off the Bernese and Zurich men from communication across the Reuss and the Aar. For this reason the two towns also despatched their troops into Aargau. Before Bremgarten, in a region overgrown with shrubs and trees, a force of 4000 men from Lucerne and the Freiamt, was, after a severe struggle, defeated by 8000 Bernese. After this "battle of the shrubs" (*Staudenschlacht*) and the surrender of Bremgarten, the Zurich men and Bernese advanced towards Baden, and by a brief bombardment forced that town to capitulate. The rapid successes of the two towns discouraged the Five Cantons. In Aarau, an agreement was arrived

at concerning a treaty of peace, which took account of the altered situation and was signed by Lucerne and Uri. The three other Cantons still hesitated, for one letter after another came from the Pope, holding out a prospect of help and exhorting to resistance. The nuncio, the Jesuits, and the Capuchins, all the clergy, raged against the godless peace. Sermons were preached inciting the country-folk to rebellion against the government of Lucerne. They were told that the complete suppression of the Catholic religion was proposed, and even that it was intended to transform the rural Cantons into bailiwicks owned by the towns. Terrible excitement consequently prevailed among the inhabitants of the central Cantons.

While Zurich and Bern, confidently expecting peace, had already begun to disband their forces, a body of Catholic volunteers assembled, to the number of 4000 men, and at Sins in the Upper Freiamt surprised and destroyed a Bernese outpost. Two days later a force of 2000 men from Schwyz and Zug attacked the Zurich intrenchments at Hütten, between the head of the lake of Zurich and the Sihl; but the onslaught was valiantly repulsed. Meanwhile, the success at Sins had aroused in the Five Cantons so great a confidence of victory, that even the governments of Uri and Lucerne, alarmed by the war-cries of the priests and the crowd, allowed themselves to be persuaded to break the peace which had just been concluded. Consequently the united army of the Five Cantons, nearly 10,000 strong, marched through the Freiamt, and on July 25th attacked from 8000 to 9000 Bernese, who occupied a position behind the old battlefield of Villmergen. At one o'clock on July 25th, 1712, the struggle began, when the Bernese left wing was impetuously attacked by the men of the rival Cantons. General Sacconay, however, a man of Vaud experienced in foreign service, hastened from the right with four battalions to the help of the hard-pressed left wing. With the active support of a force of dragoons, the Bernese infantry drove the enemy at the point of the bayonet into a swollen river, the Bünz, or into the neighbouring marshes, where hundreds of them were drowned.

While this victorious portion of the army was disordered in the heat of pursuit, the Bernese right wing was suddenly and violently attacked by the well-led Lucerne men. It seemed as if the fierceness of the Catholics and their contempt for death would win the day.

The dispersed forces of the old Cantons re-assembled and came to the help of the Lucerne men. Sacconay, the able Bernese leader, suffering from two gun-shot wounds, had to be carried off the field. The Bernese troops were slowly but steadily retiring. Then the officers, grasping the soldiers by their coats, exhorted them to stand firm; the grey-headed commander, Frisching, the standard-bearer, encouraged them with spirited words; and they recovered the lost ground step by step. After a long and fierce struggle the Catholic army broke up. This was the bloodiest battle which the Confederates had fought in all their fratricidal disputes. More than 3000 dead, for the most part Catholics, remained upon the field.

This defeat broke the courage of the Five Cantons. In the definitive peace, the fourth in point of number, now concluded at Aarau, the victors demanded all that was absolutely essential for their own security and for that of the Protestants in the "common bailiwicks." In order to get rid of the hostile wedge between their dominions, Zurich and Bern insisted upon the cession of the county of Baden and of the Lower Freiamt with Mellingen and Bremgarten (the fords over the Reuss), as their exclusive possession, with reservations regarding the rights of Glarus, which was not a party to the treaty. They also took over the town of Rapperswyl with its bridge across the lake of Zurich. Bern had to be accepted as a common owner of the Thurgau, the Rheinthal, and the Sargans regions. Finally "parity," that is to say, complete equality of the two creeds, was established. Henceforward the Swiss Diet was to have a Protestant and a Catholic secretary. Religious disputes were no longer to be decided by a simple majority of the ruling Cantons, but only by courts of arbitration in which both parties were to have an equal voice. Offices and honours in the "common bailiwicks" were to be divided between the two faiths in proportion to the numerical strength of their adherents.

The Toggenburg war, or second Villmergen war, left a sharp sting in the minds of the Catholic Cantons. In their embitterment, in 1715, they formed a separate league with the old French king Louis XIV, placing themselves completely under the protection of France, and sacrificing the independence of Switzerland so far as it lay within their power. In return, the king, in a secret despatch (*Beibrief*) enclosed in a sealed leaden casket (*Trückli*), pledged

himself and his successor to "the restitution of Catholicism," that is to say, to use all possible means to re-establish the ancient power of the Five Cantons as against Zurich and Bern. This *Trücklibund* aroused great anxiety among the Protestants; but France had good reasons for refraining from making the threatened intervention an actual fact. Nor did the Emperor, for whose assistance the fugitive abbot Leodegar appealed as a prince of the Empire, go further than a paper intervention.

At the congress of Baden in Aargau, where the peace between Germany and France was concluded in 1714, there was apparent for a time the danger of a joint intervention of the powers in Swiss affairs; and the attempt to bring about this intervention was zealously promoted by du Luc, the French ambassador, and by the nuncio. Du Luc had already drawn up plans of partition. But his proposals aroused distrust at the court of Vienna, where it was felt that the real aim was to estrange the Protestant Swiss completely from the Emperor, and to drive them into the arms of France. Louis XIV also rejected the idea, principally because he recognised that, were he to take up arms against the Protestant Cantons, England might make this the ground for the renewal of hostilities, and that the flames of war might be rekindled all over Europe. Thus the danger happily passed away. Meanwhile the two towns ruled the conquered principality of the abbot of St Gall through two intendants; but it did not come within their purview to secularise the monastery. The death (1717) of Abbot Leodegar facilitated the conclusion of the peace which in 1718 was signed at Baden with the new abbot. The whole of his domain was returned to the latter, but he had to recognise the complete religious freedom of the Toggenburgers, and to grant them in addition important political rights.

CHAPTER XX

SWISS CIVILISATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THROUGHOUT the eighteenth century Switzerland was regarded by foreign countries mainly as a field for procuring mercenaries. For service in this capacity the Swiss were in greater request than the members of any other nation. "There is no general or officer," the French ambassador, the marquis de Bonnac, wrote in 1733, "who would not in battle rather have Swiss soldiers under his command than any others." At the outbreak of the French Revolution there were Swiss guards round the thrones at Versailles, Turin, and Naples; the Pope in Rome and his legates in Ferrara, Ravenna, and Bologna were all guarded by Swiss mercenaries. Twelve Swiss regiments served in France, six in Holland, four in Spain, four in Naples, and two in Sardinia. In 1787 it was calculated that the number of capitulated Swiss soldiers (serving, that is to say, with the approval of the Cantons in accordance with treaties) in foreign service was nearly 38,000. In addition to these, there were numerous officers and men in "non-capitulated" service, under the Emperor, in Prussia, England, Russia, etc. The single family of Reding in Schwyz had during the eighteenth century no less than seventeen officers of the rank of general in foreign service. Whatever opinion may be held of mercenary service and its consequences, one point cannot be denied—that the Swiss in foreign armies, by their reputation for fidelity, bravery, and discipline, greatly contributed for centuries, and notwithstanding the decline of the military institutions of their own country, to preserve Switzerland from any foreign attack, since it was generally believed that in their own mountains such soldiers would prove invincible.

Yet, while Swiss soldiers and officers were found all over the world, at home it became ever plainer that the mass of the people was averse from foreign service, and sought other means to gain a livelihood. There was a superfluity of officers, for the patricians were only too delighted to provide for their sons in this way; but to provide the rank and file for the "capitulated" regiments became visibly

more difficult. More and more often did it happen that the colonels had to complete their regiments with spurious Swiss. The regiments in Spain consisted for the most part of non-Swiss; and on the French side the complaint made itself heard that the Swiss were undergoing a transformation from a nation of warriors into one of manufacturers and traders.

The eighteenth century was a period of visible blossoming in Swiss economic life. Especially in the latter half of the century, private individuals, associations, and governments vied with one another to improve the methods of agriculture. Hans Caspar Hirzel, a physician of Zurich, friend of Solomon Gessner and of Klopstock, was the founder of agricultural societies and agricultural experiments in Switzerland—institutions which notably contributed to draw Swiss agriculture out of the old ruts. Jacob Gujer of Wermatswyl, near Uster, nicknamed "Kleinjogg," was the model peasant discovered by Hirzel. He acquired a European reputation through Hirzel's book *Die Wirtschaft eines philosophischen Bauers* (*The Economics of a philosophical Peasant*), and was sought out by nobles and princes. The Bernese Johann Rudolf Tschiffeli became known by his similar pursuits. The "Economic Association" founded by him in 1758 acquired through its publications and other activities a reputation far beyond the frontiers of Switzerland. Albrecht von Haller did not regard it as beneath his dignity to become secretary and president of this association; Voltaire, the elder marquis of Mirabeau, Roland the Girondist leader, Linnaeus, Arthur Young the English economist, Filangieri the Neapolitan legal reformer, Von Bernstorff the Danish minister, the Margrave of Baden, and duke Eugene of Würtemberg were in communication with it. Everywhere there awoke a keen desire to cultivate the land more intensively, to transform heaths into orchards and meadows, to drain bogs, to introduce new cultivated plants, and improved agricultural implements. Even though it was not always easy to induce the Swiss peasants to abandon their traditional methods, the Englishmen Abraham Stanyan and William Coxe declared them to be the most skilful and diligent agriculturists of Europe, and considered that in respect of agriculture Switzerland could hold her own with the most advanced countries in the world.

Inadequate in most Cantons was the care taken for the preserva-

tion of the forests; and the mining industry was insignificant, despite all the attempts that had been made in this direction for centuries. Manufacturing industry, on the other hand, tended more and more to become one of the chief sources of livelihood of the Swiss people. In St Gall the linen industry, which had for long been the only Swiss manufacture on a large scale, was completely surpassed by cotton manufacture and embroidery. The number of spinners (male and female), weavers and embroidery women employed in St Gall was reckoned at from 80,000 to 100,000. Zurich was a second centre of the cotton industry; and, side by side with this, silk manufacture flourished there. In 1787 the Canton contained 34,000 cotton spinners, 4400 muslin weavers, and 2000 calico weavers; in the same year the workers in the silk industry were estimated at 4000. In Glarus, in 1714, cotton spinning was introduced by pastor Heidegger from Zurich; and in an incredibly brief time the people of Glarus,who had hitherto exported cheeses, whey and slates, turned to this new branch of industry. In Bernese Oberaargau and in the Emmenthal the peasant industry of linen-weaving developed into an export trade; and Langenthal, its chief centre, became one of the richest market towns in Europe. In this region also cotton manufactures were established, centring chiefly in the Argovian country-towns of Aarau, Zofingen, and Lenzburg. In Basel, the weaving of silk ribbons had developed into a great industry through the introduction of the ribbon-loom. Geneva and Neuchâtel became the seats of a flourishing manufacture of stamped cottons; and lace-making was also carried on in the Neuchâtelois mountains.

Watch-making, however, was the principal industry in West Switzerland. In Geneva, in association with the jeweller's art, watch-making was in the hands of a guild; the artistic methods of manufacture made the Geneva watch a showy ornament for every person of quality. In 1789 there were in Geneva 840 master-craftsmen in this industry, employing from 5000 to 6000 workmen, and turning out annually from 40,000 to 60,000 gold watches. In contradistinction to the Genevese watch-making trade, which was in the hands of a closed corporation, in the Neuchâtelois mountains the watch-making industry developed from small beginnings in the form of a completely free home industry. In 1679, in La Sagne, an English watch in need of repair came by chance into the hands of a

locksmith's apprentice named Daniel Jean Richard, who had a gift for mechanics. Not only did he understand how to set the instrument, completely unknown in those parts, going, but, with tools made by himself, he was able in a year and a half to produce a watch of his own. Thus the locksmith's apprentice became the first watchmaker in the Jura; in 1705 he moved his modest workshop to Le Locle. Jean Richard taught the art to his brothers, his sons, and other young people, some of whom settled in Le Locle and some in La Chaux-de-Fonds. It seemed as if, all of a sudden, a dormant talent for invention had been awakened throughout the population. The new industry was acquired and perfected with astonishing ability. Twenty years after the death of Richard 15,000 watches were being manufactured annually in the Neuchâtelois Jura. Then the watch-making industry spread partly into the Vaudois Jura, and partly into St Imier valley, which formed part of the bishopric of Basel. Many Neuchâtelois watch-makers became true artists in their craft; and among these were Ferdinand Berthoud of Couvet, the inventor of the marine chronometer, and Josiah Emery, who, when he died in London in 1794, was the most celebrated chronometer-maker in the city.

This increase in manufacturing activity was the cause of a corresponding development in commerce. Swiss firms were to be found in the principal trading centres all over the Continent. In 1725 there were 88 Genevese commercial houses in Constantinople, engaged in the East with the commerce of Genevese watches and jewellery. Great wealth became accumulated in the town on the Rhone; and this was increased by monetary and exchange business. Geneva became one of the great money centres of Europe; and the bankers of Geneva were regarded as the ablest of financiers. In the person of Necker, the celebrated minister of Louis XVI, a Genevese by birth, the city may even be said to have been entrusted with the impossible task of saving the Bourbon monarchy from bankruptcy.

It was a fortunate circumstance that Swiss manufacture was for the most part a home industry. The same family that was engaged in spinning and weaving or the manufacture of watches also looked after the farm and the cows. The income derived from industry was essentially a welcome supplement to the agricultural income; and at first there was hardly any sign of an industrial proletariat. It was upon the combination of this home industry and agriculture that

the prosperity chiefly rested by which, in so many parts of Switzerland, a land poorly provided by nature, foreign observers were so greatly astonished. It need hardly be said that this home industry had its seamy side. The children were no longer allowed to remain in free contact with nature and thus to grow up vigorous in body and mind, but were set to work at the spinning wheel at seven or eight years of age. In the case of adults, too, the spending of their working lives in the damp underground weaving-rooms in which the work was carried on in Appenzell and St Gall, of necessity in the long run proved deleterious, so that the fear expressed that this mode of life would "debilitate the national stock and lead to the production of weakly and crippled human beings" was by no means imaginary.

Switzerland was also rich in artistic talent; but now, as formerly, the finest Swiss artists sought a field of activity in foreign lands. Thus Anton Graf of Winterthur (1736–1813) was court-painter in Dresden; and he was "the predestined painter of the great men of his day who with vigorous art and sure technique worked out artistically the heads and handed down to posterity the features of Schiller, Lessing, Wieland, and Herder." Henry Füseli of Zurich (1741–1825) removed to London, becoming there professor of painting at the Royal Academy and subsequently keeper of that body; next to Reynolds and West he was for long the most widely celebrated painter in England. Jean-Etienne Liotard of Geneva (1702–1789), the most celebrated pastelist of the century, worked as portrait painter in almost all the capitals of Europe. Ticino continued to send out into the world innumerable sculptors, stucco-workers, architects and engineers. A Ticinese, Domenico Trezzini of Astano, who had acquired a high reputation as an architect and military engineer in the service of Frederick IV of Denmark, was in 1703 engaged by Peter the Great as principal architect and engineer for the planning of Petrograd; the original plan of the Russian capital and a number of buildings, such as the cathedral of Peter and Paul and the fortress of Kronstadt, were the work of this Swiss. Another Ticinese, Luigi Rusca of Agno, was summoned to Russia by Catherine II, and there built so many cathedrals, palaces, and barracks that in his old age he published a magnificent work of his own upon these buildings.

In Switzerland itself republican means were too modest for

such edifices. But in Bern, during the eighteenth century, the façades of numerous private houses were rebuilt with their arcades; in addition a number of magnificent public buildings were constructed—the corn-exchange, the "Inselspital," the "Bürgerspital," and the orphan asylum—so that in this way Bern came to rank as one of the most beautiful towns in Europe. In Catholic Switzerland much activity was displayed in transforming medieval churches and monasteries into the baroque and rococo styles. The most notable works of this kind were the rebuilding of the monastery of Einsiedeln (1704–1735), the monastery of St Gall (1756–1769), and the collegiate church of St Ursus in Solothurn (1762–1763).

In the eighteenth century, Switzerland, like other countries, presented the phenomenon of an obstinate struggle between the deeply rooted views of earlier days and the freer modern modes of thought, which gradually and with difficulty forced their ways upwards. There, side by side, we see the rigid enforcement of belief alike in Catholic and Protestant districts, and the fresh and youthful spirit of enlightenment, originating in England and Holland, diffused by Voltaire and the French philosophers, and strongly influencing the educated classes throughout Europe. On the one side, there was the belief in witchcraft, and superstition in all its forms; on the other, a reasonable and natural conception and explanation of phenomena; on the one side, an anxious fettering of thought by a censorship, and, in case of need, by penitentiary and executioner; on the other, a vigorous advance towards unrestrained investigation, towards freedom in all spheres. So late as 1747, in Lucerne, Jacob Schmidlin, who had taught pietistic doctrines and diffused them in writing, was racked and subsequently strangled at the stake; his body and his house were burned to ashes; and seventy-one of his adherents, men, women, and children, were expelled from the Confederation, and their property confiscated. For a long while things were little better on the Protestant side. Separation from the State Church and the formation of sects were punished as crimes; and within the State Church a petrified orthodoxy endeavoured to stifle all individual life. Protestant scholasticism attained its climax in 1675 in the *Formula Consensus* of the Zurich theologian Heidegger. This was an arid confession of faith, in twenty-six articles, which declared a belief in the Calvinistic doctrine of election, and in the divine inspiration

of the Bible, including the vowel signs of the Old Testament, as the only orthodox religion. This formula was accepted by the authorities of Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, St Gall, Bienne, Mühlhausen, Protestant Glarus and Appenzell; it had to be individually subscribed by all employees in the churches and schools and by all professors, no one being admitted to office who refused to sign. While in German Protestant Switzerland the *Formula Consensus* became the State religion which alone could secure salvation, in French Switzerland there was considerable resistance. Geneva accepted it after a long contest; Neuchâtel altogether refused it. In Vaud, even in the early decades of the eighteenth century, the demand that the *Formula Consensus* should be accepted on oath without reserve, led to severe conflicts between the Bernese government and the academy of Lausanne, by which the people of Vaud were profoundly disturbed and harassed.

Gradually, however, under the influence of "enlightenment" (*Aufklärung*) on the one hand, and of pietism on the other, the shell of orthodoxy began to crack. The first place in Switzerland where enlightenment established itself was Calvin's academy. A great-grandson of Beza, Jean Robert Chouet, professor of philosophy from 1669 to 1686, may be regarded as father of this movement. Chouet had constructed his philosophy after the principles of Descartes, Bacon, and Gassendi, had eagerly studied the natural sciences, and was an enthusiastic advocate of the inductive method. In his lectures he spoke in favour of the views of Copernicus, which were condemned by both Catholic and Protestant theologians, and awakened among his pupils a desire for a love of experimental research. Pierre Bayle, the renowned sceptic, was one of his pupils. Locke and Newton were known in Geneva, and exercised an influence here before "they had crossed the Channel upon the brilliant and lightly moving wings of Voltaire's imagination." But enlightenment in Geneva did not assume the anti-religious character of the French; it endeavoured to reconcile modern views with the fundamentals of Christianity, and to mediate between knowledge and faith.

This tendency was welcomed by the Genevese Church under the influence of one of Chouet's pupils, the theologian Jean Alphonse Turretini (ob. 1737), whose father had been one of the principal advocates of the *Formula Consensus*. Turretini had studied in Leyden, Cambridge and Paris, had made the acquaintance of Bayle, Newton

and Bossuet, and was distinguished by a rare freedom from prejudice in his judgment of men and affairs. When he returned home, and, as professor of theology, became the leader of the Church of Calvin, he endowed it with a new spirit. So early as 1706, he succeeded in doing away with the *Formula Consensus* for Geneva. In his works he collected an enormous mass of material to prove that the Christian religion excluded by its very nature all compulsion to belief, and that it could develop normally only where there prevailed perfect liberty of conscience; enforced belief could create only obscurity and hypocrisy. A worthy associate of Turretini was Frédéric Osterwald of Neuchâtel (ob. 1747). For half a century he was the leader of the church of Neuchâtel, and like Turretini he regarded dogmas as matters of secondary importance, and even as injurious to true piety. Under the influence of such men, and of the ideas of the time, the notion of tolerance gradually made its way throughout the Protestant Church. The *Formula Consensus*, the dogmas of original sin, election, and eternal punishment, were quietly buried; the chief stress was laid upon practical Christianity; and attempts were made by rationalist interpretation to bring the Bible into harmony with reason. It is true that during the second half of the century a powerful opposition to this rationalistic practical Christianity was manifested in the person of the most notable Swiss ecclesiastic of the day, Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801), pastor of the church of St Peter in Zurich, and widely celebrated for his work on physiognomy. Lavater himself diverged from the orthodox system on account of its "crudities," but he was equally opposed to the *Aufklärung* as involving the "weakening" of religion. His belief in the continual occurrence of miracles as "proofs of the spirit and the energy of the religion of Christ," his expectation of the millennium, and his book, *Ausspähen nach Spuren übernatürlicher Kräfte* (*Search for Traces of Supernatural Powers*), make Lavater a notable precursor of the "revivalism" of the nineteenth century. By the brilliant flashes of insight contained in his writings, and still more by his compelling personality, he exercised an almost incredible influence upon his contemporaries, ranking in their minds with such men as Herder and Goethe.

One of the most beneficial consequences of the *Aufklärung* was the cessation of trials for witchcraft. In Geneva the last witch was burned in 1652; in Bern capital condemnations for witchcraft

ceased in 1680; and in Zurich in 1701. In 1752 witch-burning came to an end also in Catholic Switzerland. The tragical distinction of the last witch trial in Switzerland, and indeed the last in Europe, belongs to Protestant Glarus. Here in 1782 a serving-maid named Anna Göldi was racked upon the charge of having bewitched a child, and was subsequently decapitated. The judicial murder of this girl was, like all the executions of witches, a striking proof of the inadequacy of the old penal system with its terrible extraction of evidence by torture. While torture had been abolished in Great Britain in the reign of Queen Anne, and Geneva had followed this example in 1738, in the rest of Switzerland torture remained legal till 1798. In Zurich, however, the rack was last used in 1770; and in Bern torture was practically abolished in 1783.

Whereas in this hesitating abolition of torture, and in so many other things, the fossilised character of the Swiss national institutions was plainly manifested, in other respects during the eighteenth century Switzerland furnished adequate proof that she was far from being a dead member of the European civilised community. During the seventeenth century Switzerland was regarded as intellectually impoverished, as a European Boeotia. Now for the second time she fertilised the world with new ideas, as in the days of Zwingli and Calvin. For a whole generation Switzerland took the lead in German literature, opening the path which led Germany to classic heights. In his poems, Albrecht von Haller of Bern gave utterance to strains exhibiting a profundity of thought hitherto unknown in German poetry. Just as Haller's *The Alps* (1729) preceded Klopstock's *Messiah*, so did Bodmer and Breitinger, the Dioscuri of Zurich, pave the way for Lessing. They began the great work which Lessing completed of liberating the German spirit from the oppressive foreign yoke of French classicism; by their critical writings and translations they introduced Germany to the congenial literature of the British, making her acquainted with Shakespeare and Milton as models; they uplifted out of the dust of oblivion the poetry of medieval Germany, the Minnesingers, *Parsifal*, and the *Nibelungenlied*. Whilst Bodmer's own poems served merely to display his poetical incapacity, the *Idylls* (1756) of Salomon Gessner of Zurich were the delight of a world intent upon Arcadian innocence, and were translated into all the languages of Europe. Little Zurich became a place of pilgrimage visited by Klopstock, Wieland, and

Goethe, the "incomparable place" which, in the opinion of the Prussian, Ewald von Kleist, contained ten times as many people of genius and taste as the great city of Berlin. In 1781 Heinrich Pestalozzi of Zurich, by the publication of his classical popular book *Lienhard und Gertrud*, showed himself to be the chosen reformer of private and public education. Johannes von Müller of Schaffhausen was the first of the series of great writers of history in the German tongue; and in his *History of Switzerland*, whose publication was begun in 1780, he gave for the first time a beautifully adorned and appreciative picture of the middle ages.

Eighteenth century Switzerland also occupies an honourable place in the history of the natural sciences and of mathematics. The great Gesner found a worthy successor in Zurich in the town physician Johann Jacob Scheuchzer (ob. 1733), known in palaeontological science as the discoverer in the tertiary schist of the skeleton of a giant salamander, the *Andrias Scheuchzeri*, regarded by him as a diluvial man. As founder of the physical geography of the Alps, Scheuchzer rendered more valuable service. He first made barometrical determinations of altitude in the Alps, and meteorological observations in this region, and was also the first who endeavoured to solve the problem of the glaciers. By indefatigable wanderings and researches in the mountains and by the collection of plants, animals, and fossils, he acquired a knowledge of Switzerland and Swiss natural history such as no previous student had possessed, and incorporated this knowledge in his maps and writings. In Albrecht von Haller (1709–1777) of Bern, a man of extraordinary many-sided activities, Switzerland possessed the greatest anatomist and physiologist of the century; while the brilliant mathematicians of Basel, Johann, Jakob, and Daniel Bernoulli, and Leonard Euler, were rivals of Leibnitz and Newton.

Geneva could boast a number of distinguished men of learning, among whom was Horace Bénédict de Saussure (ob. 1799), who did valuable service as a student of botany, geology, and physical geography, and above all through his investigations in the Alps. His celebrated ascent of Mont Blanc in the year 1787 was an epoch-making event in the history of scientific mountaineering. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and subsequently President of the United States, spoke of the academy of Geneva and the university of Edinburgh as the two eyes of

Europe in respect of the exact sciences, and proposed to Washington that the academy of Geneva, which was threatened with destruction by the Revolution, should be transferred to America with all its professors. The scientific importance of Geneva passes, however, into the background when compared with the immeasurable influence exercised on the world by a single Genevese citizen. Jean Jacques Rousseau was the intellectual leader of the second half of the century, as Voltaire had been of the first. His writings had the force of religious revelations; his ideas, true and false, were the torches which set light to the Revolution. With his watchword, "return to nature," Rousseau provided the ferment which still continues to work in modern thought and feeling.

CHAPTER XXI

FEDERAL CONDITIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

From the time when Haller in his *Die Alpen* (1729) and Rousseau in his *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1760–1761) had illuminated the natural scenery and the national life of Switzerland with the golden sheen of poetic imagination, strangers in ever increasing numbers came to the "happy land of freedom," and found the idyllic preconceptions they had formed of the country to some extent realised. Travellers reported with delight the impressions produced, not alone by the natural wonders of Switzerland, but also by the prosperous and fortunate inhabitants; they spoke of the beautiful shores of the lakes of Geneva and Zurich, of the well-to-do peasant villages in the Bernese region, of the industrious watch-making towns of the Jura, of the mountains of Appenzell dotted with low wooden chalets. Of all the nations of Europe the Swiss seemed best to express the ideal of a free and vigorous people living happily in the homely simplicity of natural conditions. Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (1804) was the outcome of this view of the country.

Keener observers did not, indeed, fail to note that the much-praised political and national life of the Swiss suffered from very serious defects. The senile atrophy of Swiss political institutions was but inadequately concealed by the economic prosperity of the country. Switzerland had been as it were petrified in the condition produced by the religious dissensions. The Confederation had become a mummy; and, even in the individual members of which the organism was composed, it seemed that all creative political activity, all capacity of adaptation to the transformed spirit of the times, had perished. People spoke and wrote of the Helvetic Free State. In reality Switzerland was not a State at all, but merely a loose federation of States. There existed the raw materials of a State, that is to say a country, a nation, and a glorious history; but the structure that earlier generations had begun to build had been arrested in its infancy. Whereas the majority of European States had been unified and strengthened since the middle ages, in Switzerland

the reverse had happened. In earlier times the joint struggles and victories had awakened a sentiment of federal brotherhood whch worked wonders despite the defective character of Swiss institutions. This community of spirit had subsequently been banished by internal dissensions and had been replaced by the *Kantönligeist* (narrow cantonal spirit). Each Canton regarded itself as a sovereign and independent State; the individual members of the Confederation had never abandoned the right of making war, of entering into alliances, and of sending envoys, in favour of the community considered as a whole. No single Canton could be forced to participate in an alliance, even should all the others enter into it; and conversely the community had no legal right to forbid a member of the Confederation to form separate alliances within or without Switzerland, unless it had in its federal treaty expressly renounced the right of entering into alliances at its own discretion.

The Confederation, as a whole, still possessed no constitution, no government, no administrative or legislative organs—nothing more than the semblances of these in the *Vorort* (presiding Canton) and in the "Swiss Diet." Since, in the traditional order of precedence of the Cantons, Zurich occupied the first place, this Canton had in course of time gained the position of a Vorort. It summoned the Swiss Diet and presided over it. It received the envoys and despatches from foreign countries sent to the Confederates as a whole, and drew up the answers in the name of the Confederates. The rights of the Vorort were restricted to these purely formal functions of presidency of the Swiss Diet and of action as a federal correspondence-bureau; no genuine authority whatever was attached to the position.

Nor did the Swiss Diet possess any real federal authority. It still remained a mere conference of the envoys of sovereign States. Strictly bound by their instructions, these delegates could not take any step except when they had been expressly authorised by their superiors to do so. Since, apart from the few instances in which the ancient alliances or agreements provided for majority resolutions, the principle of the majority decision had no validity in the Confederation, universally valid resolutions of the Swiss Diet could be secured only by unanimous agreement on the part of all the Cantons. If the delegates to the Swiss Diet had received different instructions, the matters under discussion were taken *ad referendum*,

that is to say, they were "referred" to the authorities of the individual Cantons. If at the next Diet there was still no unanimity in the delegates' instructions, nothing could be done in the matter but to take it once more *ad referendum*, and this process was repeated until unanimity was secured, or until, as commonly happened during the eighteenth century, the Diet became weary of the useless deliberation, and the matter was allowed to drop out of the "Recesses and Agenda." "If the Thirteen Cantons and Allies had to subscribe to the statement that snow falls in winter," said a Swiss statesman mockingly, "they would not agree to do so until after at least a dozen referenda." The most urgent reforms in military matters, coinage, customs-system, etc., could never even be seriously discussed at the Swiss Diet because, "owing to the dissimilarity of the Cantonal constitutions, agreement was unattainable." If ever, under exceptional conditions, a resolution was adopted, its execution depended entirely upon the goodwill of the individual Cantons, or it might happen that one of the sovereign popular assemblies, such as those of Schwyz, Appenzell Inner Rhoden, or Catholic Glarus, would subsequently withdraw its assent, as occurred in the case of the *Defensionale*.

At one time taken as a model in military matters, and still widely renowned as the nursery of admirable soldiers, Switzerland during the eighteenth century had become one of the worst-armed communities of Europe. The principle of universal obligatory military service still prevailed; and, according to the assurances of the panegyrists of the existing order, the country could provide 200,000 men-at-arms for its defence. But burghers and peasants, with uniforms and muskets, were not yet soldiers, and still less were they an army. It is true that the *Defensionale* of 1668 contained regulations concerning organisation and armed equipments. Apart, however, from the consideration that the Catholic rural Cantons did not regard themselves as bound by the *Defensionale*, and from the further consideration that the majority of the Allies and associates was not included therein, how was it possible that a military organisation belonging to the days of the Thirty Years' War could be other than antiquated in the age of Frederick the Great and of Bonaparte? In fact the Swiss military system remained what it had been in the middle ages, a matter entirely for the discretion of each individual Canton. Uniforms, arms, the calibre of artillery, were as varied as

the armorial colours of the Cantons. Some, like Zurich, Bern, and Lucerne, took the trouble to perfect their military organisation. Others regarded drills as superfluous; and the Grisons felt so secure in her mountains that she did not take in hand any kind of military organisation, but was content to store in arsenals cannon and muskets.

Switzerland was no less incompetent for works of peace than for defence worthy of the name, as soon as these works of peace had to pass beyond the limits of a single Canton. On the Linth and on the lake of Wallenstadt was a whole region containing two towns, Wesen and Wallenstadt; and this region remained a hopeless morass, because the proper regulation of the flow of the Linth would have required the co-operation of several Cantons. The political conditions of the country were characteristically reflected in the wretched confusion of the coinage. The only money that was universally current in Switzerland was foreign, the coarser French coins. The coins of each Canton were accepted in other Cantons only at a discount or not at all; and their circulation might even be forbidden. Monetary standards, the names and values of the local coins, and the precise values in the matter of foreign coinage, varied from Canton to Canton. For centuries, demands were made at every Swiss Diet for "conformity" in respect of the coinage, without the slightest step ever being taken to secure it.

In general the principle was accepted that the Confederates should admit one another to free trade. But this did not prevent them from carrying on embittered economic wars with one another by the setting-up of internal tariffs, by prohibitions of export and import, and by blockade duties of all kinds. The reckless pursuit of selfish interests, which had become a matter of principle with the Cantons, and the childish obstinacy which they displayed towards one another in the most trifling matters, led to endless friction and hostility.

After the establishment of the *Trücklibund* (p. 235) the Confederacy seemed to become incapable of any kind of uniform commercial relations, either external or internal. Foreign countries grew accustomed to regard Switzerland as still consisting of a mere bundle of dwarf States each of which could be made a separate target. In 1736 France, desiring to get possession of an island in the Rhine near Hüningen, began to quarrel with Basel about the salmon fishing in the river; and, since the town did not immediately comply with the

French demands, a blockade of the frontier was ordered, and all Basel folk living in Alsace were arrested. At the requisition of the alarmed town, Zurich, the Vorort, summoned a Diet, but all the Catholic rural Cantons ostentatiously remained absent; Solothurn advised Basel to give satisfaction to the king; while Fribourg took precautions against this matter being regarded as one concerning the Confederation as a whole, lest it should incur the king's displeasure. Betrayed by one half of the Confederation, and poorly supported by the other, Basel had finally to ask for English mediation in order to make peace with the court of Versailles.

The partition of Poland had some effect in frightening out of its particularism the Confederation which had been split into factions by religious hatred and weakened by foreign mercenary service. Maria Theresa, at the suggestion of Joseph II, was already secretly preparing to demand the restoration of Thurgau; and the by no means groundless fear of Habsburg plans for annexations led the Catholic and Protestant Confederates alike to feel that a closer union was necessary, at least as against foreign countries. The consequence was that in the year 1777 the whole Confederation renewed with Louis XVI, for the term of fifty years, the French alliance which throughout the reign of Louis XV had been a mere separate league of the Catholic Cantons. Apart from a few declarations of neutrality, this was the only joint work to which the Confederates set their hands in the long period from 1712 to 1789. It was regarded as a great achievement, for the dangerous *Trücklibund* was thereby annulled, and the chasm which had separated the religious camps in the eyes of all the world was at least ostensibly closed. Yet even on this occasion were displayed the brainless egoism and the treasonable subserviency to France characteristic of some of the Cantons. Vainly did Neuchâtel, Geneva, and the bishop of Basel endeavour to secure admittance into the alliance, in order in this way to force France to recognise that they belonged to Switzerland. While the Protestant Cantons, and also Lucerne, Schwyz, Zug, Solothurn, and the abbot of St Gall supported the petition, Uri, Unterwalden, Fribourg, Appenzell Inner Rhoden, and Valais did the French cabinet the good service of persisting in a resistance which frustrated the desire of the three petitioners to enter the alliance. By acting in this way, the Confederation declared that, as a whole, it did not regard Geneva, Neuchâtel and the Basel Jura

as Swiss; and thus, in a sense, they invited France to seize the first opportunity of getting possession of this western bulwark of Switzerland.

The French alliance of 1777 was merely defensive. In return for the unpaid help and other advantages which the king guaranteed to the Swiss, he received no more than the permission to recruit volunteers for the officially recognised regiments. France did not acquire any right to interfere in the internal affairs of Switzerland, nor to demand her active participation in French wars, nor the right of passage for French troops over Swiss soil, nor even a pledge that the Swiss would not allow the enemies of France to recruit Swiss mercenaries. Thus the Swiss undertook no obligations which could conflict with their independence or neutrality, as these terms were then understood. It was also manifest that the political morality of the nation had become cleaner. The Protestant towns rejected the traditional public pensions; and it seems that secret private pensions were no longer received by Swiss statesmen, who had happily become accustomed to do without these during the long pause between the formation of the *Trücklibund* (1715) and 1777. There were fewer scruples in the Catholic Cantons and in those where parity of belief prevailed.

But, although the direct corruptibility of the Swiss was much less than it had been at an earlier date, France continued to exercise a dominant influence in the country. The king was the object of a formal cult on the part of the many distinguished families, which usually sent their sons into the French service, and received from his favour annuities, rank, titles of nobility, and knightly orders. Every pensioned officer, every councillor, whose son or brother had a career to make in the French army was more or less serviceable for French interests. The French ambassador, as a rule one of the most influential among the diplomatists, controlled a network of secret relations. Everywhere he had paid or unpaid correspondents, who gave him immediate information about everything; and only too often it was within his power, by the adroit distribution of grosser or more refined marks of favour, to determine at his will the decisions of the councils and of the popular assemblies.

This influence had been firmly established for centuries, and no one could compete with it. With Austria, the other great neighbour-

ing Power, which surrounded Switzerland on the north, east and south, Switzerland was on terms of moderate and cool friendship. It was only the Grisons, where the imperial resident in Chur played on a small scale a part similar to that which on a large scale was played by the French ambassador in Solothurn, that could be reckoned as belonging to the Austrian sphere of influence.

An influence somewhat similar to that exercised by the French alliance was that exerted by the common bailiwicks, forming a link which had compelled the religious parties to keep on terms with one another even during the worst periods of religious hatred. It is true that the common bailiwicks had been the principal cause of the religious wars, but peace had been at last secured upon the ground of the parity won in 1712. In other respects, however, their administration always remained an unfavourable feature of the federal political life. It was not that an especially heavy yoke burdened the common bailiwicks. The authority of the bailiffs, appointed for a two-years' term of office by the ruling Cantons in fixed rotation, was limited everywhere by the constitution of the bailiwicks, based upon privileges and treaties, or upon ancient tradition. By the side of the bailiffs were native magistrates and officials. The municipal towns, such as Baden, Bremgarten, Frauenfeld, and Rapperswyl, were autonomous republics, which managed their own affairs almost without interference from above. The taxes payable to the ruling Cantons were trifling; and in respect of trade and commercial activity the inhabitants of the common bailiwicks were freer than the subjects of the individual towns.

Nevertheless the proverbial saying, that common goods are ill-managed, applied here to the full. Since no particular government felt a genuine interest in the domain ruled jointly, or, if it had, such an interest was hampered at every step by the other Cantons, matters were allowed to look after themselves. In Vaud the roads were good so far as the country belonged to Bern alone, but where Bern and Fribourg had joint rights they were abominable. "In all the great Swiss States," wrote Bonstetten of Bern in the closing days of the old Confederation, "there are institutions for the common benefit except only in Italian Switzerland. It is there alone that we find the mountain torrents raging uncontrolled and washing away the poor fragments of earth belonging to the ignorant country-folk." Nowhere did feudal conditions exhibit a greater tenacity of life than

in the "common bailiwicks." It was only in exceptional cases that the authority of the State remained undivided in the hands of the ruling Cantons; in most cases these latter had to share their power with a great number of small lords of the manor, possessing varying degrees of power, so that the legal relations of the "common bailiwicks" were extremely complicated. In Thurgau, in addition to the general supremacy of the eight Cantons, there were about one hundred and thirty manorial lordships belonging to ecclesiastical authorities, to towns, and to private individuals. Whereas in their own territories most of the Cantons had abolished serfdom, this institution was still the rule in the German-speaking "common bailiwicks" during the eighteenth century.

There were additional defects in the administration of the "common bailiwicks." Although they, if administered according to law, brought in so little money that Bern, for example, found it necessary to give subsidies from its own treasury to the bailiffs appointed by the town, in other Cantons, and especially in the rural Cantons, the "common bailiwicks" were regarded as gold mines; and the bailiffs had to pay dearly for the privilege of their appointment. In Glarus, for example, the fortunate man who in 1781 received for two years the appointment as bailiff of Thurgau had to pay to each individual citizen one and a half gulden, to the public purse 300 gulden, to the armoury 90 gulden, to the treasure-chest for extraordinary expenses 26 gulden—in all more than 7000 gulden. The bailiffs, in order to recover their expenses and realise the profits on which they had counted in accepting office, and deriving their income chiefly from the cost of legal proceedings and from their share in fines, incited their subjects to punishable offences, in order to be able subsequently to fine them, and fostered litigation in which bribes could be taken from both sides. Thus the sense of justice of entire populations was corrupted from above, and litigiousness became a disease of all the "common bailiwicks."

The climax of this unjust administration was reached in the Italian-speaking bailiwicks of Ticino. Formally these enjoyed greater liberty than did the German-speaking bailiwicks. The people elected their own councils and rulers, doing this in part in popular assemblies; the monetary contributions they furnished to the ruling Cantons were insignificant, nor were they asked to discharge any military duties; and yet these were the poorest, rudest, and

most unhappy regions of Switzerland, principally because the only thing which the ruling Cantons offered had here undergone transformation into a cancerous growth. The penal jurisdiction of the federal bailiffs consisted for the most part in their power to conclude, without closer investigation, an *ajustamento* with the accused, in other words, a compromise, in virtue of which the accused could buy himself off from torture, trial, and punishment. Notorious criminals went free if they could pay enough; on the other hand money was extorted even from the innocent by threats of the rack. The bailiffs were rivalled in venality and corruptibility by the "syndicates," that is to say, the embassies from the ruling Cantons, which appeared every year in Ticino to control the administration and to decide legal appeals.

It will be obvious that not all the bailiffs nor all the members of the "syndicates" were equally guilty. Those of Zurich and Bern, in particular, who had not to pay for their appointment, formed honourable exceptions. Nor were there lacking strict Confederate ordinances against "pensions and bounties," and encouraging attempts on the part of individual Cantons to counteract the prevalent venality. The bailiffs from the smaller Cantons, however, who had just paid thousands of gulden to secure their appointment, without hesitation took a solemn oath that they had done nothing of the kind. The evil could not be eradicated, for the roots had struck too deep. Here it was not merely the individual who was at fault, but the entire population, which had become accustomed to regard their votes as merchandise.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SWISS DEMOCRACIES DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NOWHERE in the world were there to be found such varied samples of democracies and aristocracies, ecclesiastical and temporal, of limited and unlimited monarchies, packed together in so narrow a space as in Switzerland. Still, the republican element outweighed the monarchical to such an extent that the latter seemed a mere appendage. The republics, again, were subdivided into two principal groups—the rural Cantons and the towns, or the democracies and the aristocracies.

The rural democracies, governed by popular assemblies, were indubitably the most characteristic political institutions of Switzerland. Here alone did the popular assemblies of Athens and Rome find a modern counterpart; here alone did an offshoot of the ancient Teutonic *Thing* continue to flourish in full vigour. It was Napoleon's opinion that it was only on account of these democracies had Switzerland the right to exist; and William Coxe, the English historian, who visited Switzerland in the years 1776, 1779, 1785–6, declared:

> If that sort of government be confessedly the best, which constitutes the greatest good of the greatest number in the community, these little states, notwithstanding the natural defects of a democratical constitution, may justly claim a large share of our approbation. General liberty, general independence, and an exemption from arbitrary taxes, are blessings which amply compensate for a want of those refinements that are introduced by opulence and luxury. But it is only in these small republics and in such a state of society, that this kind of general democracy can have place.

The solemn earnestness with which in its popular assembly the sovereign people in person discussed and decided the affairs of the community produced then, as it does to-day, a powerful impression. It is true that the sovereign people did not invariably maintain this self-discipline. During the eighteenth century, Schwyz, Zug, and the two Appenzells were rent by fierce party struggles. In these

cases, it was not so much differences of principle or bold innovations which gave rise to the party struggles, as personal rivalries, dissatisfaction felt by the masses with those in authority, concerning the inequitable distribution of the French pensions, and so on. For such reasons, the entire people became split up into "hards," the men of the opposition, and "softs," the adherents of the government. It then happened that both parties would appear at the popular assembly armed with cudgels to break one another's heads; they violated all the protective forms of law, attacked one another with sentences of banishment, confiscation of property, and even with sentences of death, until at length they wearied of their rage and returned to moderation and order.

The worst of it was that the "freed" peasants had become accustomed, not merely to give nothing to the State, but even to receive money from the State. Not only were the pensions from the foreign powers lavished among the peasants at so much a head, but the sovereign people even chaffered with the offices which it had at its disposal. Electoral corruption became so rife in the rural Cantons that attempts were made to diminish the evil by the legal organisation of the sale of offices and by the institution of a formal tariff. Since most of the offices were practically unpaid, their tenure had become the privilege of a few families ambitious and wealthy enough to expend money in order to secure purely honorary positions; and the consequence was that, despite the popular assembly, the country was essentially ruled by an oligarchy based upon corruption.

Moreover, the Swiss mountain inhabitants of the eighteenth century were far removed from that which we to-day understand as democracy, since they regarded their freedom as a privilege which they were by no means disposed to share with others. The spirit that animated them was in substance no less exclusive than that of the aristocratic towns. Among them also the mere "dwellers" constituted a despised and oppressed class. They too ruled their subjects with a heavy hand, and in case of revolt enforced obedience with the bayonet and the executioner's sword. Such was the procedure of the rural Canton of Uri in 1755 towards the people of the Val Leventina on the further side of the St Gotthard, a region which had been subject to Uri since the fifteenth century, but which hitherto had enjoyed a considerable degree of self-government. It was believed

in Uri that the head bailiff of the Val Leventina was embezzling the money of orphans; and with the praiseworthy intention of preventing such misdeeds in the future it was determined to insist upon the furnishing of regular accounts. The Val Leventina folk, however, regarded this as an attack upon their liberties. They renounced their allegiance to Uri and took up arms to repel force by force. But when the Uri men, with the support of others from Unterwalden and Lucerne, crossed the St Gotthard, the Val Leventina population did not venture to offer resistance, and allowed themselves to be disarmed. In Faido, surrounded by the federal troops, they were compelled to swear unconditional obedience to their liege lords, and then, kneeling with bared heads, had to witness the execution of three of their most respected leaders. Eight other ringleaders were brought back to Altdorf and decapitated there as a spectacle for the people of the ruling Canton. The Uri popular assembly then suppressed all the liberties of the Val Leventina and reduced the valley to the lowest degree of subjection.

The constitution of the rural Cantons was paralleled most closely by those of Valais and the Grisons, where the people was also sovereign, but where its authority was exercised, not through a popular assembly, but through the referendum, which had been customary here from ancient days. The sovereignty of the bishop of Sion had in course of time become a mere shadow; since the seventeenth century Valais had borne the title of a republic and had ruled itself as such. In essentials, however, the republic of the Valais, that is to say, the dominant Upper Valais from Sion upwards, was itself merely a league of seven little republics, the so-called "dizains" (*Zehnten*), which enjoyed a far-reaching autonomy. The affairs of the country as a whole were managed in part by the Cantonal council, which consisted of the bishop, the captain-general elected by the council, and four deputies from each "dizain"; and in part were placed directly before the "dizains" in a circular letter from the captain-general, on receipt of which the "dizains' asked the opinion of the several communes. The majority of the communes determined the vote of the "dizain," and the majority of the "dizains" that of the region as a whole. The Lower Valais was a subject territory of the republic of the Upper Valais, and was divided into seven bailiwicks, the bailiffs being appointed in part by the seven "dizains" in rotation for a two years' term of office, in

part selected by the bishop and in part by the abbot of St Maurice; or else the offices were respectively sold to the highest bidder.

In the Grisons, the federalist principle was pushed to an extreme. Properly speaking, each commune was here a democracy managing its own affairs at its will. Several communes combined to form a *Hochgericht* (judicial district), a sort of federal State with its own constitution, legislature and judiciary. The Three Leagues were composed out of the "high courts," and united to constitute the Raetian Free State. Each league had its own *Bundestag* (diet), and its annually chosen president (*Bundeshaupt*). The president of the Grey or Upper League was known as the *Landrichter*; that of the League of God's House as the *Bundespräsident*; and that of the League of the Ten Jurisdictions as the *Bundeslandammann*. The State as a whole had little more to do than to supervise the administration and the legal control of the subject territories, and all matters of foreign policy. It possessed no permanent executive. For the management of internal affairs there assembled once every year the General *Bundestag*, at which each "high court" was represented by from two to four deputies and each League by its chiefs. Urgent business was dealt with at *Beitage* (extraordinary assemblies), which usually consisted only of the three presidents, but were occasionally reinforced by one or two delegates from each *Hochgericht*. The resolutions of the *Bundestag* and of the *Beitag* did not however become valid without the assent of the communes, which discussed them in their assemblies and put them to the vote. The result of the referendum was presented to a "congress" consisting of one of the three presidents and three delegates from each league, and was verified by this body.

In the Grisons, as elsewhere, electoral corruption and the sale of offices were the rule; in the Grisons, as elsewhere, the sovereign people was in fact at the mercy of an aristocracy consisting of a few leading families. During the eighteenth century, the family of Salis occupied the dominant position, having acquired enormous wealth as farmers of the customs' duties during many years, and as large-scale furnishers of men for foreign military service. In 1789 the family had on foreign service two lieutenant-generals, two major-generals, three colonels, and seven captains; it numbered princes and counts among its members. It happened on one occasion that, of 63 delegates to the *Bundestag*, 12 were members of the Salis

family; and of the three presidents two at one time belonged to that stock. Other old families struggling with that of Salis for dominion were those of Planta, Sprecher, Travers, etc. It was the traditional hostility of these families which gave the Grisons community its characteristic turbulence. So late as the second half of the eighteenth century the parties sometimes discussed their differences with musket shots, one village would attack another, or one magnate would arbitrarily imprison another.

How could it be expected that these rough democracies, which managed their own affairs so badly, would display much virtue as rulers in the subject lands under their control? In the Valtelline were to be found conditions similar to those in the Ticino. In form, the Grisons subject territories enjoyed a free constitution. Administration and civil jurisdiction were almost exclusively in the hands of natives, and the tribute payable to the sovereigns was trifling. But criminal jurisdiction was in the hands of the Grisons bailiffs; and this furnished them with the means for shameless extortion. Since, as a rule, they had purchased their offices from the *Hochgerichte* (the nominating bodies), at an enormous cost, while they received no adequate salaries and had to provide for themselves out of the fines they inflicted, they instituted prosecutions upon the most trifling excuses, and forced the accused to buy themselves off; or they inflicted on them confiscation of their property and corporal punishments, which, by virtue of their prerogative of pardon, they would remit for adequate payment. In this way the Grisons carried on a regular traffic in justice—a traffic in which the leading Valtelliners took a great share as lawyers, sub-officials, or even as farmers of the fines. We cannot wonder that Austria continued to keep an eye upon this territory, hoping sooner or later to annex it to Milan.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SWISS ARISTOCRACIES DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The centre of gravity of political life in the urban Cantons was found in the town councils. The sovereign authority was vested in the Great Council. In most of the Cantons it was composed of somewhat over two hundred members, but in Lucerne and Solothurn it was half this size, and in Schaffhausen and St Gall even smaller. The current direction of affairs was, however, in the hands of the Small Council, composed of from twenty-four to sixty-four members. To both Councils the members were appointed for life, the annual or semi-annual elections serving merely to confirm the tenure of office. In most cases, moreover, within the Small Council there existed a narrower committee, the Privy Council, whose duties were the preliminary discussion and the conduct of the principal affairs of state. The heads of the government were two persons who in some Cantons bore the title of burgomaster, and in others that of *Schultheiss* (mayor), each of these occupying the presidency in rotation for a year or for six months. The idea of the separation of powers was utterly foreign to these republics. Everywhere the Small Council was simultaneously the nucleus of the Great Council; and the burgomaster or *Schultheiss* presided over both assemblies. As a rule the Small Council, as the supreme executive authority, was at the same time the supreme judicial authority alike in civil and criminal affairs; in Bern and Lucerne the right of passing death-sentences was reserved to the Great Council.

The principal characteristics of the urban Cantons lay in the contrast between the ruling town and the subject districts, the wall of the town and the moat constituting impassable barriers by which the members of the State were separated into two unequal castes. But in some of the urban Cantons, the burghers of the town had as a whole retained their political rights, so that the town, considered by itself, was a representative democracy; whereas in others the

burghers had undergone subdivision into patricians and plebeians, the latter being excluded from the government by the former. Consequently the urban Cantons must be classified in two groups, that of the guild aristocracies and that of the patrician aristocracies.

Zurich, in rank the first, and in size and power the second of the Swiss Cantons, was a guild aristocracy. As in the middle ages, its constitution reposed upon the society of the *Konstaffel* and the twelve guilds into which the burghers were divided. The guilds elected their guild-masters, and these constituted half of the Small Council, that is to say, half the executive government. All the other elections were indirect, but the nomination of the guild-masters by the burghers sufficed to prevent the formation of a patriciate and to preserve legal equality within the walls of the town. The industrial and commercial middle class ruled on the Limmat.

For this reason the Zurich constitution exhibited a genuine burgher solidity, but also a genuinely philistine narrowness. The administration was upright, and Zurich knew nothing of the sale of offices and similar abuses. The public lands were managed with the most scrupulous care; in case of need the authorities did not hesitate to provide for the support of oppressed religious comrades at home or abroad, to furnish assistance for the victims of misfortune, and to create charitable institutions. Although the Carolinum, Zurich's leading educational institution, could not rank with the German universities, this body, in conjunction with the town schools, provided the Canton and the "common bailiwicks" with a well-informed clergy, and at the same time furnished the burghers with a high average education and a receptivity for literary life and activity, which could not easily be paralleled elsewhere.

One peculiarity of Zurich was that it went further than the other Swiss towns in the paternal care or police supervision it exhibited on behalf of its subjects. Eating, drinking, smoking, driving and sleighing, the number of guests at parties, wedding and christening presents, the material and cut of clothing, adornment, the dressing of the hair—everything was regulated, forbidden, or restricted. The wages paid to the handicraftsmen and to machine workers, the length and breadth of the tissues, the prices of flour, bread, meat, milk and butter, were all decreed by the civic authority. Regular attendance at church was secured by legislative enactments; the dress to be worn by both sexes on these occasions was precisely

specified. Sabbatarianism was pushed to such an extreme that on the Sabbath no one could escape from the town area without special permission. Owing to the puritanical strictness with which, under clerical influences, all unrestrained cheerfulness was repressed even in the rural districts, it was found possible to secure that in the very taverns the peasants should sing psalms.

If this endless interference in all matters awakened in the subjects of Zurich the feeling that "there was more freedom elsewhere," this was to a still greater extent the case with those orders and prohibitions which were the outcome, not of over-zealous paternal benevolence, but of the endeavour to secure a comfortable existence for the ruling townsmen at the expense of the community as a whole. The condition of the rural districts of Zurich was by no means an unhappy one; as Goethe said, the shores of the lake of Zurich gave "a charming and ideal conception of the finest and highest civilisation." During the eighteenth century there were no direct taxes; the tithes and ground-rents which had from ancient times been levied on landed property were from the legal point of view private taxes, even though they had for the most part become the property of the State and constituted the major part of its income. But the countryman had much greater ground for dissatisfaction in his hateful inferiority to the townsman in all possible respects. Every office, in the country as well as in the town, which afforded any income, and all the higher positions from the rank of captain upwards in the home military service and also in the "capitulated" regiments, were monopolised by the burghers. The rural handicraftsman was forbidden, under pain of fine and confiscation, to work for the town or to sell his produce there, while the burgher handicraftsman could dispose of his produce indifferently in town and in country. Throughout the Canton cotton and silk were spun and woven, but according to law this industry could be pursued only for the account of a townsman. The countryman was forbidden to practise the independent business of any kind of manufacture or commerce; he might not participate in either even as a partner. From the liberal professions he was excluded in practice though not by law. The ecclesiastical benefices, appointment to which was for the most part in the hands of the government, were allotted to burghers exclusively; similarly with appointments in the higher schools.

Naturally the burghers regarded as admirable this ordering of the State which was so closely associated with their material welfare, and they considered every attack on it as a crime. Consequently printing was supervised with extreme care. The history of the Zurich authors of the eighteenth century is full of struggles with the incredibly strict censorship exercised by the town, by which even Johannes von Müller's first attempt at a history of Switzerland was forbidden. Behind the censor stood the penitentiary and the executioner; for in Zurich, as in every aristocracy, extreme severity against political criminals was elevated into a principle, and everyone who threatened to disturb the existing order was considered as a political criminal. Christoph Heinrich Müller, a theological student, who subsequently made a name for himself in Berlin as the first publisher of the *Nibelungenlied*, had in 1767 to flee the country because of a work in favour of the Genevese democracy; while in 1780, the pastor Johann Heinrich Waser, a pioneer of modern statistics, had to atone with his death, not only for genuine offences, but also for the political essays upon his native town which he had published in Germany.

In Basel, likewise, the constitution was based on the guilds. Here, indeed, the elections were not in the hands of the guilds themselves but in those of the guild presidents. The development of a patriciate was, however, prevented by the system of election by lot. The electors to every vacant post had to nominate six candidates, and among these lots were cast. Thus it happened that Basel occasionally had councillors who could neither read nor write; but it further resulted that even the most modest handicraftsman could feel himself a predestined senator, and was devoted body and soul to the institutions of his native town. Basel had long ago lost its fame as a Swiss seat of the Muses and a centre of European printing. Its university had sunk to the level of a benevolent institution for the townsmen; and the decadence of the university was completed by the application of the system of election by lot to the choice of the professors. Obscure rivals were by this system given the preference over such men as Daniel Bernoulli and Leonard Euler, and in this way Euler was permanently estranged from his home. Basel had now become predominantly a commercial and manufacturing town. Here also, however, the prosperity of commerce and industry was associated with the economic subordination of the subject rural

district. The countryman of Basel, like the countryman of Zurich, was remorselessly excluded from ecclesiastical benefices, from higher educational positions, and from commissions as officers; he was forbidden to sell silk or to weave ribbons upon his own account, or to enter a business as partner.

Just as Zurich was the type of the guild aristocracy, so was Bern the type of the patrician aristocracy. The "Town and Republic" of Bern was by far the most highly respected and imposing of the Swiss States, not merely because its domains embraced one-third of the whole territory of the Confederation, but also because both at home and abroad it was regarded as the best administered Swiss community and was considered as a model State. All visitors from foreign parts praised the flourishing condition of the Bernese territory. Montesquieu compared Bern with Rome in her best days; and Meiners, the German, declared that, with all its defects, Bern was perhaps the most perfect aristocracy that had ever existed.

This flourishing condition of Bern was not indeed chiefly dependent upon the deliberate will of the State, being the outcome of a fortunate combination of circumstances, independent of that will—the excellence of the soil, the extreme diligence of the peasants, the traditional preferential right of the youngest son to the paternal dwelling (whereby the splitting-up of landed property was checked), and above all the fortunate union of home industry with agriculture. In the Oberaargau and the Emmenthal there were not a few peasants whose properties were worth over 100,000 gulden; there were whole villages wherein there was hardly anyone who owned less than 20,000 gulden. From the Oberland, on the other hand, where industry did not flourish, beggars descended at harvest time in swarms; and many regions in the interior of Vaud displayed in their poverty a striking contrast to the well-being of the German-speaking region around Bern.

Nevertheless the fame for wisdom and mildness enjoyed by the Bernese government was not unmerited. Thanks to the thrifty and strictly regulated administration, it was possible to avoid the imposition of direct taxes, and even as a rule to secure surpluses, which were in fact incorporated in the State treasury and in part invested at interest abroad; and yet the government fulfilled the duties of the State better than any other of the Swiss communities.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the property of the republic in cash and good securities was valued at not less than thirty millions. At the same time the arsenals were well provided; and notable sums were disbursed every year for the relief of distress and for the advancement of agriculture and industry. In the Oberland, the wild waters of the Kander were conducted (1714) into the lake of Thun; and in 1740 the making of high roads was begun. These soon spread all over the country, constituting a luxury at that time almost unknown elsewhere in Switzerland, and rare in general in other European countries.

In contrast with former times the people were carefully protected against oppression and extortion on the part of the bailiffs. The patricians of the town on the Aar differed from the guild members and merchants of Zurich, Basel, and Schaffhausen in leaving their subjects free to pursue commerce and industry; it was only the wine trade which was reserved for the burghers qualified to hold political posts. Ecclesiastical benefices and educational positions were regarded for the most part as privileges of the burghers of the country towns.

Thus the Bernese State exhibited a greatness and magnanimity which were lacking in the case of the guild aristocracies. Bern, however, resembled the other aristocracies in the fact that the State was regarded as a great private estate upon which the ruling class had to live. The inhabitants of the town of Bern were divided into four sharply distinguished classes. The majority belonged to the class of *Ansässen* (dwellers or domiciled persons), the "settlers" or non-burghers, who were tolerated in the town in virtue of an annually renewable permit; they could not own a house, engage in the wine-trade, or practise retail trade, but were permitted handicraft. Next above these came the *ewige Habitanten* (perpetual inhabitants), a sort of semi-citizens, who enjoyed all the economic advantages possessed by the burghers with the exception of the right to engage in the wine-trade, but were permanently excluded from a share in the government. At the summit of the hierarchy came the *regimentsfähige* burghers—those entitled to participate in the government, consisting in 1787 of two hundred and forty-three families. Of these, however, three-fourths were practically, though not legally, excluded from the government; for there were distinguished, among them, the families merely entitled

to rule from the genuinely "ruling" families, of which in 1787 there existed no more than sixty-eight. These constituted the true patriciate, forming a social caste completely separated from that of the other burghers. The attempt to institute also a legal distinction of the ruling families, as nobles, from the common burghers, failed; for in 1785 this attempt led the Great Council to pass a resolution granting to all the *regimentsfähige* families (whether genuinely ruling or not) the right to use the prefix *von*, so that even the members of the non-ruling families could enjoy this glorious privilege of "de-ifying" themselves.

The indispensable condition for the tenure of all the higher offices of state was membership of the Great Council of Two Hundred. Properly speaking, this should have numbered two hundred and ninety-nine members; but vacancies were filled up only at ten-year intervals by the Small Council in association with the *Sechszehner* (committee of sixteen), a permanent electoral college constituted within the Great Council, so that in all there were forty-three *Wahlherren* (electors). It was the privilege of each elector to make one or two nominations, which were regarded by the other electors as valid—nominations of a son, son-in-law, or other relative. The success of such "nominations" was taken so much as a matter of course that the hand of a *Barettlitochter* (daughter of the biretta), that is to say, the daughter of an elector who had no son to nominate, was regarded as equivalent to a dowry of 30,000 Bernese pounds; and shortly before the elections large numbers of such *Barettheiraten* (biretta marriages) took place among the patricians[1].

The town officials received moderate salaries. But every member of the Great Council had the right once or twice during his life to occupy a post as bailiff or director. These appointments were sixty in number, and each was held for a term of six years. So richly were they endowed that the holder could not only lead the life of a nobleman in his official castle during his term of office, but after his term of office had expired was able to bring home a fortune. In 1794, in a book published with the permission of the Bernese censorship, we read the following statement: "In Bern the State provides in the posts of bailiffs an imperishable treasure for the ruling families; from this treasure they can restore fortunes which have

[1] The names *Barettlitochter* and *Barettheirat* were derived from the biretta, or official cap, which was worn by the councillors.

been wasted by the extravagance or debauchery of individual members."

The Bernese patrician regarded himself as a "man of position." His model was the foreign, and especially the French, nobleman; the acquirement of distinguished manners was the principal aim of his upbringing, while he despised the academy as an institute for theologians and pedants. To complete his education he spent a few years abroad in a Bernese regiment, and then took up official life at home. Bernese pride was proverbial in Switzerland, and numerous anecdotes were current concerning the arrogance of the Bernese "Junker." It need hardly be said that in Bern too the dominant class was convinced of the perfection of Bernese institutions, that all criticism was regarded as wicked, and that the mere thought of a change was looked upon as rebellion. In the free State of Bern there prevailed what was probably the strictest censorship in the whole of Europe. "If there is one place in the world where the freedom of writing has been abolished, that place is Bern," wrote a Bernese professor in a private letter; "if they could, they would deprive us of the freedom to think." Booksellers, owners of lending-libraries, and printers, with all their employés and workmen, were compelled periodically to take an oath that they would never infringe the censorship law or trade in forbidden printed matter, above all in such as "criticise the privileges of our official authorities or otherwise affect the government." Nevertheless the patrician government was not unpopular, at any rate in the German-speaking regions. The country life of many of the patricians, who had estates everywhere and spent a considerable part of the year in the rural districts, contributed to bring about a patriarchal relationship between the "Junker" and the peasants. Consequently the German-speaking peasantry of Bern were almost the only countrymen in aristocratically ruled Switzerland who were content with their "gracious lords," and did not desire any change of condition.

In the French-speaking portion of the Canton, however, the Bernese aristocracy could not boast of the existence of any such friendly attachment. It was in the nature of things that the government of the German town could not here strike deep roots, since Bern was not sufficiently intelligent to bind the aristocracy of Vaud to its interest by granting rights of citizenship. A lively population, one-third of which lived in towns, whose higher circles

might in the judgment of Voltaire and Gibbon be compared in respect of intelligence, education, and good manners with the best society in Europe, and who in these respects felt themselves superior to the German-speaking Swiss, was excluded from the government of its own home. Under the dominion of Savoy the native population of Vaud had occupied the first positions in the land; and the laws had been the work of a special diet for Vaud. Now a town speaking a foreign tongue dictated the laws, and appointed its own burghers to all the higher offices. The nobles and the cultured townsmen of Vaud saw their sons excluded from all honourable careers in their own home, the clerical career alone excepted; and even in foreign military service, to which the men of Vaud gladly had recourse, they felt that their advancement was let and hindered by the Bernese patrician officers. It was calculated that Bern drew from Vaud three times as much money as the administration returned to the country, and that Vaud would inevitably have become impoverished but for the influx of opulent foreigners and for the wealth gained by men of Vaud in foreign lands.

It is not surprising that the idea of a liberation of Vaud from the Bernese yoke began to take form. In the battle of Villmergen (1712) an officer of Vaud named Davel had distinguished himself, and was therefore appointed one of the four majors who had to conduct the military manœuvres in Vaud. Major Davel was universally loved as a man of the finest character and of profound piety verging on mysticism. In the dispute regarding the *Formula Consensus* he was wholly on the side of the academy of Lausanne; and the persecution which that body experienced at the hands of the Bernese government was regarded by him as an intolerable oppression of his conscience. He also regarded the temporal rule of the Bernese bailiffs with profound disapproval; and for these reasons there matured in his mind the idea of detaching Vaud from Bern, in order to make it into a fourteenth Canton of the Confederation. He disdained to gain over recruits in secret meetings, or to make underhand preparations of any kind, for he wished to have no accomplices in case of failure. The only crafty action performed by this remarkable conspirator was that in the spring of 1723, when the offices of the bailiffs were vacated and all of them had gone to Bern, he collected the unsuspecting troops of his district as if for

a review and entered Lausanne at their head. Here he appeared before the town council and disclosed his design. If Lausanne would lead the rising, the whole country would follow.

Instead of agreeing to this proposal, the honourable gentlemen of Lausanne were so greatly alarmed "at this detestable proceeding" that they immediately sent a special messenger to Bern, and threw the guileless Davel into prison. In Bern the news at first caused great excitement, which, however, soon subsided when it was seen that all remained quiet in Vaud. Consequently Bern was able to allow the case to be peacefully judged by the Lausanne council; and when this body condemned Davel to have his right hand hewn off and to be subsequently decapitated, Bern was able to display a semblance of magnanimity by commuting the sentence to a simple decapitation. With Christian calmness, and convinced that his sacrifice would not be vain, the high-minded man went to meet his death.

Two decades later the Bernese patriciate had to learn that its bitterest enemies were those of its own household, the burghers who were *regimentsfähige* but were excluded from the government. It is true that attempts had been made to keep these "lesser" or "less fortunate" burghers harmless by granting them admission to subordinate offices and to the privileges of the wine trade. For those who had made shipwreck of their lives a fine almshouse (*Bürgerspital*) was provided; and destitute orphans were cared for in an orphanage. These benevolent institutions, however, did not serve to allay the envy and hatred of the neglected families, all the more as diligence and industry were not quite the strongest characteristics of the ordinary Bernese burghers, who found no compensation in commercial or manufacturing activity for the lucrative offices from which they were excluded. In 1744 disaffection found expression in a petition wherein some of the burghers complained of the concentration of official posts in the hands of a small number of families, and demanded a change in the method of election. But this mere petition was regarded as a treasonable offence; and the petitioners were treated with greater or less severity, some of them being punished with banishment for five or ten years.

Among the banished was Samuel Henzi, the son of a pastor, a man of varied talents and wide culture. Having been pardoned after a few years, he returned to his native town, but finding that all

prospects of advancement were cut off, he joined in 1749 with other discontented spirits in a regular conspiracy. The plan was to overthrow the Council by a *coup d'état*, in case of need to abolish it, and to introduce a government by the guilds like that which prevailed in Zurich or Basel. At the last moment this conspiracy was betrayed by chance, and was frustrated by the arrest of its leader. The patricians were seized with an overwhelming panic; even their wives and daughters took up arms; they barricaded themselves in their houses, and got ready cauldrons of boiling water in order to repel the expected attack of the burghers. Not until troops entered from the rural districts did the councillors feel once more secure; for it then became plain that the country-folk had no desire to exchange the rule of the patricians for that of the burghers as a whole, as Henzi designed; "they preferred masters who were already fat and masters who would wish to grow fat." Henzi and two of his fellow conspirators were decapitated; three others who had taken to flight were outlawed; and a large number were temporarily or permanently banished from the Confederations. Henzi's conspiracy attracted great attention in the world, and displayed the width of the gulf which yawned within the walls of the proud town upon the Aar.

This Protestant aristocracy of Bern had its counterparts in the Catholic patriciates of Lucerne, Fribourg, and Solothurn. In Lucerne, towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, the number of the burghers had dwindled to such an extent through cessation of all grants of citizenship that it was regarded as necessary to permit once more the acceptance of new burghers, upon condition that they had a fair amount of property, that they should replace their wooden houses in the town by new stone buildings, and that they should not become competent to take a share in the government until the third generation. In 1773, the number of the *regimentsfähige* families, then twenty-nine, was limited for all time by the resolve that no new burgher family should be admitted to a participation in the government until one of the old families had become extinct. Among the families entitled to a share in the government there came into existence a yet narrower circle of families whose hereditary privilege it was to occupy seats in the Council; and this constituted the real patriciate. The patriciate of Lucerne assumed the style and title of nobility, and its members distinguished them-

selves from the "burghers" as "junkers." The privileged families jealously safeguarded all their prerogatives.

One peculiarity of the patriciate of Lucerne was the violent party struggles by which it was torn during the eighteenth century, these struggles being partly occasioned by traditional family feuds, and partly by differences of principle regarding church matters. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century the aristocracy of Lucerne had always gone hand in hand with the bigoted democracies of the original Cantons in the matter of hostility to the Protestant Cantons. But after the second Villmergen war (1712) a new current was manifest both among the Lucerne patricians and in Switzerland, aiming at an abandonment of the one-sided religious policy. An understanding was sought with the leading Protestant towns, and the supremacy of the State over the Church was energetically supported. The leading spirits in this movement were the members of certain patrician Lucerne families distinguished by intelligence and education, the Balthasars, the Meyers, and the Kellers, among whom these sentiments were handed down from generation to generation. The growing influence of this party was displayed in several conflicts between Lucerne and the Roman Curia, in which the little republic on the Reuss showed a notable steadfastness in opposition to clerical claims and intrigues. Towards the middle of the century, these ecclesiastical quarrels became complicated with violent family rivalries. Fresh occasion for dispute was furnished by carelessness and defalcation in the administration of public funds. In 1742 a deficit came to light in the accounts of the official corn-steward Leodegar Meyer, who was consequently deprived of his office and banished. Subsequently the son of the banished official, Valentin Meyer, secretary to the Council, believed that two of the most vigorous among the prosecutors of his father, the treasurer Nicholas Schuhmacher, and the master of ordnance Franz Plazid Schuhmacher, were guilty of even more serious offences. In 1761 he secured the appointment of a commission for a strict enquiry into the administration of the property of the State. The outcome of this enquiry was that Nicholas Schuhmacher was found guilty, was ordered to refund the sums he had embezzled, and was condemned to banishment in perpetuity. The master of ordnance was also condemned as a swindler and was deprived of his honours and offices.

Valentin Meyer soon afterwards secured a seat in the Small Council, and his reputation increased from day to day, for he was a man of remarkable eloquence, and endowed with great powers of work and energy of will. A thorough-going aristocrat, in 1764 he secured the arrest of Lorenz Plazid Schuhmacher, son of the banished treasurer, upon suspicion of an attempt to arouse disorders among the ordinary burghers. Young Schuhmacher's patrician origin did not save him from death on the scaffold as a traitor. His comrades escaped with imprisonment for life or perpetual banishment.

Valentin Meyer was now at the summit of his power, but the Schuhmacher faction was merely awaiting an opportunity to overthrow him; and such an opportunity was offered by Meyer's ecclesiastical policy. Since the Roman Curia would not allow the government to tax the wealthy monasteries and religious houses in the Canton, the leaders of the anti-clerical party had recourse to the printing press. In 1768 there was published in Zurich an anonymous pamphlet, *De Helvetiorum juribus circa sacra*, in which documentary proof was furnished that from the days of antiquity the Confederates had exercised certain rights of State supremacy over the Church. The bishop of Constance demanded the suppression of the "detestable" book. In Zug it was actually burned; but the Council of Lucerne replied, as proposed by the schultheiss Leodegar Keller, that for hundreds of years the clergy had been writing on behalf of their rights, which were continually undergoing enlargement to the disadvantage of the State, and that none of these writings had ever been suppressed; would it then be just and proper to refuse publicity to a work which, conversely, advocated the rights of the State? The author was, in fact, a member of the Council, Felix Balthasar. When thereupon Pope Clement XIII condemned the book and placed it on the Index, there was published in Zurich, in 1769, a second work, *The Reflections or Observations of a Swiss*, in which the abolition of the monasteries was openly advocated. This attack upon the monasteries raised a storm in Lucerne, and all the more because Valentin Meyer was believed to be the author. His opponents were already preaching against him in the pulpit and speaking against him in the Council, when in the form of a professed *Refutation of the Reflections*, a work of which everyone recognised Valentin Meyer as the author, an even fiercer attack was

made upon the monasteries. The terrible cry that religion was in danger resounded from one end of the Canton to the other. At a meeting of the Great Council, from which Valentin Meyer was absent on account of illness, his opponents, led by two of the Schuhmachers, gained the victory. The "anti-religious" writings were burned by the executioner. At the same time the sick Valentin Meyer was arrested and a trial was instituted against him, not only on account of the two pamphlets, but also because of the "shedding of innocent blood" in the Schuhmacher trial of 1764. The victorious party, supported by the blind rage of the masses urged on by the priests, wished to bring him to the rack and the scaffold; his friends had reason to rejoice when by a voluntary exile for fifteen years he rendered a "pacification" of the parties possible. The clerical reaction in Lucerne was so complete that of all the Catholic governments Lucerne resisted longest the suppression of the Jesuit Order by the Pope in 1773.

In Fribourg the *regimentsfähige* families numbered seventy-one; and these had distinguished themselves legally as "privy burghers" (*heimliche Bürger*) from the petty burghers (*Kleinbürger*). Very strangely the patriciate of Fribourg endeavoured also to erect a barrier against intrusion from above, by excluding from the most important offices of state the members of families bearing titles of nobility; these were excluded above all from the "privy chamber" (*heimliche Kammer*), an all-powerful elected body which constituted the fulcrum of the entire administration. The Fribourg patriciate might be termed a mercenary oligarchy in Bourbon pay. No other Canton sent so many officers to France, and no other was so dependent upon that country; even the bishop was appointed by the Pope upon the recommendation of France and received a pension from France.

The executive and the judicature were badly organised. There was not a single printed law; the burghers and the peasants suffered from the arbitrary conduct of the officials and bailiffs, from the indefiniteness and flexibility of taxes and personal services. At length, in 1781, the long-suppressed discontent flamed up in a revolt. It was distinctive of the ultra-conservative character of the country-folk of Fribourg that the disturbance broke out in consequence of certain measures of enlightened despotism—a diminution in the number of feast days, effected by permission of the Pope and of the

bishop, and ordinances for the protection of the forests. Beginning in the Gruyère, the revolt spread throughout the Canton, under the leadership of one of the peasants, Pierre Nicholas Chenaux, a mule-dealer by trade. Fribourg was surrounded by three bodies of peasants; and the patriciate, which had numerous enemies within the town, would have lamentably crumbled to pieces had not Bern extended a helping hand. On the appeal for help of the rulers of Fribourg, Bern despatched 6600 men, with twenty-four guns, under the command of the grey-headed general Lentulus; and these dispersed the irregular forces of the people. Chenaux was killed by a bayonet-thrust from a remorseful rebel; his body was quartered; and the rebellion had to be atoned for by sentences of death against refugees, and by condemnations to the galleys and to banishment.

Hardly had the attack of the peasants been repelled when the régime of the privy chamber had to suffer a fresh onslaught within the town itself from the petty burghers and the nobles. The government, in despair, was on the point of appealing to the court of France for aid; and it was necessary for the other Cantons to prevent this foreign intervention by threatening to exclude Fribourg from the Confederation. Ultimately, in 1782, under pressure from the other patrician towns, Fribourg made a compromise with the nobles. The counts and barons were granted admission to every office; in return all the privy burghers received the privilege of writing *von* before their names. At the same time the patriciate was enlarged by the accession of sixteen additional families; and it was determined that in future, whenever three patrician families had become extinct, three new ones should be admitted in their place. Since the petty burghers remained discontented, their spokesmen were driven from the country, and peace was apparently restored.

CHAPTER XXIV

DISTURBANCES IN GENEVA, NEUCHÂTEL, AND THE BISHOPRIC OF BASEL

GENEVA, then the greatest, wealthiest, and most industrious of all the Swiss towns, occupied a peculiar position. Down to the end of the seventeenth century its political development had been analogous to that of the patrician towns. Here too the inhabitants had undergone a separation into sharply distinguished classes. In order to be a "citizen" (*citoyen*), that is to say, a *regimentsfähig* burgher, a man must have had burgher grandparents and been born in Geneva. New burghers, the sons of new burghers, and foreign-born Genevese, all of whom were generically known as *bourgeois*, were excluded from all offices, but enjoyed every other burgher privilege In addition to these two classes of burghers, there existed in the town a far more numerous population of non-burghers; and these also consisted of two classes. A distinction was made between the *habitants*, the newly-arrived settlers, and the *natifs*, children of habitants, born in the town. Habitants and natives were excluded from all political rights, and also from the liberal professions; in respect of trade and industry they occupied an inferior position; but the natives enjoyed certain privileges. The inhabitants of the extra-mural villages, few in number, that belonged to Geneva, were termed "subjects" (*sujets*).

In fact, though not in law, a ruling caste of patricians had constituted itself from among the mass of "citizens," which alone ruled the town. Through the method of election adopted after the days of Calvin, the two Councils confirmed and completed one another, each filling vacancies in the other; and thus the councillorships had passed into the exclusive possession of a few old and wealthy families, which were also socially distinguished from those of the other burghers and lived together in the upper town. It is true that the right of the general assembly of the citizens to nominate year by year the four syndics from among the members of the Small Council was still in existence; but it had become an empty ceremony, since

the election was really dependent upon nominations made by the Councils. Even the professorships at the academy had for practical purposes become patrician privileges; there were "academic families" in Geneva among which the professorial chairs were handed down by inheritance.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, there came into existence a self-conscious democratic opposition to this rule of certain families; and the opposing current continually increased in force. Geneva became the theatre of a party struggle which lasted for eighty years, carried on by both sides with vigour and intelligence, and reminding us in its gradual progress of the class-struggle in ancient Rome. Geneva was the first place on the continent where modern democracy attained success. By the Swiss aristocracies and the neighbouring monarchies, the "Genevese ideas" were greatly dreaded on account of their attractive force. Ultimately, through the influence of Rousseau's political writings, which may be regarded as their precipitate, these ideas contributed to the genesis of the French Revolution.

It was in the year 1707 that the democratic movement first made itself manifest in Geneva, its spokesman being the eloquent lawyer Fatio, member of the Council of Two Hundred. By virtue of the inalienable sovereignty of the people, the burghers demanded the regular summoning of the popular assemblies, secret voting by ballot, a change in the method of election of the Great Council, a restriction of the number of persons belonging to the same family who might sit in the Councils, a revision of the laws and ordinances and the printing and publication of these. The authorities agreed to the publication of the civil laws, and to the limitation of the number of councillors from the same family. Fatio wished to reject these concessions as only half-measures, but was abandoned by the assembly of the citizens, which adopted these proposals by a large majority. A tumult raised by his adherents gave the government an opportunity for expelling him from the Great Council. A few months later, when Fatio was denounced to them as a conspirator, an enquiry was made, as the result of which Fatio was shot as a traitor in the prison yard, and Lemaître, one of his adherents, was hanged.

Extensive measures for the new fortifications of the town, for which the money had to be raised by new taxation, once more gave

rise to much discontent, all the more since an expert officer, Micheli du Crest, a distinguished mathematician, engineer and cartographer, attacked the plans for these fortifications, in speech and in writing, as defective and extravagant. Micheli du Crest, who was in the French service, was expelled from the Great Council and deprived of his rights as a burgher, and a charge was laid upon his property. When, in consequence of this extremely unjust treatment, he wrote letters to friends in Geneva threatening an appeal to the assembly of the citizens as the ultimate sovereign power, he was in 1731 condemned, *in contumaciam*, on account of *lèse-majesté*, to perpetual imprisonment and the confiscation of all his property, while his correspondents were banished from the town. This treatment of Micheli added fuel to the flames. The burghers could not be withheld from making complaints or "representations" to the government; for which reason the Genevese democrats were throughout the century known as the *représentants*. In 1734 the whole body of the burghers marched in military array to the door of the town hall, in order to demand the right of voting taxes and the summoning of the assembly of the citizens. The discovery that twenty-two guns upon the walls in the quarter of St Gervais (where the disturbance was particularly rife) had been spiked with wood excited the burghers to such a degree that they took up arms. The government was compelled to appease the general discontent by acceding the right to vote supply and by the banishment of the "cannon-spikers." But when the dreaded Micheli by reason of his intrigues was condemned *in contumaciam* to decapitation, there took place on August 21st, 1737, a sanguinary collision between the factions. Zurich and Bern sent representatives to restore peace. France, however, desired to seize the opportunity of confirming her influence in this frontier town. The French envoy produced orders from his court to join with Zurich and Bern, by virtue of the treaty of protection of 1579, in working for the re-establishment of order, and to offer to the parties the king's "mediation." Neither Zurich and Bern nor Geneva itself had sufficient courage to refuse the foreign intervention thus thrust upon them. "Naturally," wrote the French minister for foreign affairs, "the king will not play second fiddle on this occasion"; and in fact the second fiddle was played throughout by the two Swiss towns. The French envoy showed himself more favourable to the claims of the burghers than

did the representatives of Zurich and Bern, and thus pushed the latter into the background. The result of the mediation was a new constitution, whose full title was *Règlement de l'illustre médiation pour la pacification des troubles de la république de Genève*, which on May 8th, 1738, was adopted by the assembly of the citizens with approximate unanimity. The "Règlement de médiation" was the first great victory of the Genevese democracy; thereby the assembly of the citizens secured the final decision concerning war and peace, alliances, laws, and increase of taxation; the "citizens" and "burghers" were granted the right of petition and remonstrance; the "citizens" were given access to the Great Council; and the "natives" were permitted to enter all professions. Unfortunately this victory of freedom was dearly bought. In conjunction with Zurich and Bern, France undertook to guarantee expressly the Genevese constitution, and thus acquired a new legal ground for future intervention. Micheli du Crest, who disdained to take the necessary steps to secure his personal participation in the amnesty provided for by the mediation, lost the favour of the French government by repeated attacks upon this mediation. Having returned to Switzerland, he was forbidden by Bern, as a dangerous revolutionary, to leave the town; in 1749 he was involved in the Henzi trial, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Aarburg.

The Mediation of 1738 was followed by a quarter of a century of peaceful development; and this would have lasted even longer had not the Genevese government been moved in 1762, at the instigation of the procurator-general Tronchin, to follow the example of the *Parlement* of Paris and have Rousseau's *Emile* and *Contrat Social* destroyed by the public executioner as "nefarious writings aiming at the overthrow of the Christian religion and of all governments." This maltreatment of their distinguished fellow-citizen, who brilliantly revenged himself from his home in the Neuchâtel mountains by the composition of his *Lettres de la Montagne*, once more aroused such a ferment among the Genevese that in 1766 the government appealed to the three guarantors for their mediation. On this occasion the French representative received instructions to support the aristocracy, since it was easier for the French court to maintain its influence upon this order. In alliance with the Council, France once more dominated the whole business of the mediation. But the Genevese citizens, admirably led by De Lolme (the author

of the celebrated work upon the English Constitution), Clavière (subsequently minister of the Girondists), and others, had the courage to reject the judgment of the three guarantors. Yet the Council was afraid to enforce this judgment by arms, and in 1768 came to terms with the citizens. The "edict" of this date imposed limits upon the right of the authorities to fill up gaps in their own ranks; the burghers were granted the power of electing one-half of the new members of the Great Council and of replacing four members annually for the Small Council.

In 1779, fresh disputes occurred over the preparation of a legal code. Hitherto the party struggles of Geneva had mostly been restricted to the ranks of the citizens proper, but on this occasion a large number of the "natives" became involved, especially since the patricians endeavoured to attract them to their side of the dispute. In agreement with France, the aristocracy worked openly for the repeal of the edict of 1768. On February 5th, 1781, the *représentants* took up arms, seized the gates, and in an assembly of the citizens made important concessions to the natives, who thereupon came over to their side. The Council once more appealed to the mediation of the three guarantors. Since Zurich and Bern would not allow themselves to be used as mere tools by France, but honestly endeavoured to mediate between the parties, the French court found the treaty of 1738, by which the single-handed intervention of France was excluded, to be burdensome, and suddenly withdrew from its position of guarantor, whereupon the two Swiss towns followed suit. The Genevese were not sufficiently wise to convert into a reality the re-acquired semblance of independence by settling their own differences as speedily as possible through concessions.

When, at French instigation, the Council obstinately refused to carry into effect the resolution of the assembly of the citizens in favour of the natives, these latter lost patience, and took up arms on April 8th, 1782. The burghers espoused the cause of the natives and forced the authorities to abdicate. News from France rendered it clear that that country meditated an armed intervention. Bern was unwilling to allow Geneva at least to fall completely into the hands of the French; for this reason, just as much as by its hatred of revolution, the Bernese government resolved to suppress the revolt in Geneva by force of arms. Simultaneously France set troops in

motion. To avoid the appearance of a desire to conquer Geneva for herself she invited the co-operation of the kingdom of Sardinia. Consequently, in June, the town was surrounded by 6000 French, 3000 Sardinians, and 2000 Bernese. Under the leadership of a committee of public safety the whole population worked feverishly for its defence; and the French commander's summons to surrender was rejected. But the leaders were well aware that the fortifications of the town could not resist a serious siege. They had hoped by an energetic show of defence to secure the offer of honourable terms of capitulation. When, however, the French made all preparations for a bombardment, these leaders declared a surrender to be inevitable; and, since the popular anger now threatened to turn against themselves, they escaped on shipboard during the night of July 1st to 2nd.

There was no longer any talk of resistance. On July 2nd, 1782, the French, Sardinians, and Bernese entered Geneva, and re-established the overthrown aristocracy. Plenipotentiaries from the three States drew up the new constitution in co-operation with the Genevese patricians; since France and Sardinia went hand in hand, Bern had little to say in the matter. This aristocratic reaction carried things back to the days before 1738, so that the citizens were completely stripped of almost all their rights. An amnesty was declared, from which however nineteen of the leaders of the revolution were excepted, so that the best intelligences of Geneva had to remain refugees upon foreign soil. In this way the town was once more brought beneath the yoke of its aristocracy, which, lacking powers of self-support, could only continue to exist by foreign aid.

In Neuchâtel, the sole temporal monarchy upon Swiss soil, the dominion of the king of Prussia, had speedily struck root. The Hohenzollerns, who at home exercised absolute power, were content in Neuchâtel to be in practice no more than titular princes. The principality had so little to do with Prussia, that Neuchâtelois in French service fought at Rossbach against their sovereign lord; and the latter was compelled to admit that this also was one of their privileges. Except in the case of the governor, no one could hold an office in Neuchâtel unless he were a native by birth. Authority was actually in the hands of the Neuchâtelois nobility, from whose ranks all the higher offices were filled, and in particular the Council of State, which carried on the government under the presidency of

the governor. But certain democratic elements formed a counterpoise to this native aristocracy. Most of the inhabitants of the principality belonged to four political unions, the "bourgeoisies" of Neuchâtel, Valangin, Boudry, and Landeron, which by charter were empowered to have their own military forces and their own executive and judiciary, and enjoyed the right of making "remonstrances" to the prince against edicts and other governmental measures. The great "Union of the Corporations and of the Communes," which the four bourgeoisies had joined during the dispute about the succession, had to a certain extent replaced the Estates, which had not been summoned since 1618, although the government disputed the legality of the assembly of deputies representing this union when it became troublesome.

Under Frederick the Great, regular disturbances broke out. In most respects the great king allowed the Neuchâtelois to go their own way, even in matters where, if he had opposed them, he would have done so with the approval of enlightened contemporaries and of posterity. In one point, however, he was unyielding. Wishing to increase and regularise his princely income from tithes, groundrents, rents from mills and bakeries, lord's money dues, etc., he conceived the idea of farming these privileges out to private speculators, who paid him a fixed sum in advance and were then compelled by personal interest to collect the amounts of these dues as fully as possible. This farming system aroused great discontent. Remonstrances from the "Union of the Corporations and of the Communes" received no attention. In 1766, at the expiration of these farming grants, a general resistance became manifest against the renewal of this system; and even the Council of State placed itself on the side of the country. Embittered by this opposition, the king deposed three members of the Council of State, and appointed, by the side of the governor, a Prussian official as royal plenipotentiary, a proceeding which the Neuchâtelois regarded as an infringement of their liberties. The French government began to cherish the hope of leading a movement for the detachment of the country from Prussia, and for its annexation to France. The intrigues of the dangerous neighbour power induced Frederick the Great, in accordance with the terms of the old alliance (*Burgrecht*) of 1406, to invoke the arbitrament of Bern. The arbitration was instituted by Bern in accordance in the ancient form. The king

was represented by the ambitious advocate-general Claude Gaudot, belonging to a distinguished family of Neuchâtel, who had himself been an opponent of the farming-out of the taxes, but had exhibited a sudden change of front. Since that time he had been the best-hated man in Neuchâtel, a "devilish apostate and traitor." Gaudot, however, conducted the king's case with great ability; and on December 6th, 1767, Bern gave its decision, which in all important respects was in favour of the king. As Neuchâtel refused to recognise the award, Bern prepared to enforce its execution by a levy of 9000 men, whereupon the Neuchâtelois were forced to give way.

But the trial had a tragic sequel. When Gaudot returned to Neuchâtel, a furious mob assembled in front of his house. The magistrates and the grenadiers under their orders hardly troubled to observe even the form of their duties; the house was broken into; and Gaudot, who attempted to defend himself with sword and pistol, was murdered. The death of the detested man aroused universal rejoicing; and no one ventured to arrest the offenders, until at the demand of the princely government the four towns of the *Burgrecht* of 1406, Bern, Fribourg, Solothurn, and Lucerne, sent a force of 600 men to garrison Neuchâtel. To expiate this resistance sentences were now passed which ostensibly were extremely severe. Five of the ringleaders were condemned to death upon the wheel or the gallows, but they had all escaped in good time. The town had to render the king a striking satisfaction for the contempt of his authority. Fortunately the newly appointed governor, Scipio Lentulus, a Bernese, who had in the Prussian service risen to the rank of general, was an able and upright man. Through his prudent mediation a compromise was arrived at between prince and people by which the Neuchâtelois were confirmed in all their rights and liberties, including even the most disputed of all, the right to hold assemblies of deputies of the "Union of the Corporations and the Communes."

Thus the small State of Neuchâtel lived under a constitution which exhibited a strange amalgam of monarchical, aristocratic, and popular elements, but afforded a freedom of movement unknown to the subjects of the town aristocracies. In the frequent disputes between the "bourgeoisies" and the government, the former were accustomed to appeal to the king; and, since they

often obtained a favourable hearing, they regarded the authority of the remote monarch, not as a burden, but as a defence against the arbitrary rule of the native aristocracy.

The most peculiar position in the Confederation was that occupied by the prince-bishop of Basel. This prince of the Empire, who for centuries had not exercised even the most trifling authority over the town from which his title was derived, resided for the most part in Porrentruy. In 1735, the Catholic Cantons, which had a long time before formed with him an alliance for twenty years in the interests of their faith and had several times renewed it, allowed this alliance to lapse. In the episcopal State, a distinction was made between "imperial" territory and "Swiss" territory. In the Protestant Swiss territory the rule of the bishop was sometimes, as in Bienne, a mere form. In other instances, it was greatly limited by the liberties of the subjects and by the support which these secured from Bern and Bienne. This was the case in the valley of St Imier, the manhood of which had from ancient days gone into the field under the banner of the town of Bienne; in Neuveville on the lake of Bienne; and in the Val Moutier, which had long been associated with Bern in a perpetual alliance. It was only in the Catholic portions of the country, Porrentruy, Delemont and St Ursanne, in the territory reckoned as "imperial," that the bishop was really a monarch. Here too, however, even in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the medieval rights and liberties of every town and rural district secured immunity from a thorough-going princely authority, and in matters of taxation the bishop could only act with the approval of the estates.

The attempt of the despotic bishop Johann Conrad von Reinach to establish an absolutist bureaucratic State, in accordance with distinguished precedents, encountered the almost unanimous resistance of the Estates and of the country people. From 1726 onwards, the bishopric was troubled by continual disorders. Ultimately the countryfolk broke into open resistance under a resolute leader named Péquignat. As Johann Conrad found the repressive means at his own disposal altogether inadequate, he threw himself into the arms of France. In 1739, under his successor, Jacob Sigismund von Reinach, an alliance was formed with France, in virtue of which the government of Versailles supplied the bishop with the troops requisite for the subjugation of his rebellious

subjects. The popular movement in the Jura was suppressed beneath the iron heel of the French dragoons. The aged Péquignat and two of his associates were beheaded and quartered, on October 31st, 1740, before the town hall of Porrentruy. The victory of absolutism in the bishopric of Basel was secured by this sanguinary execution. After 1752 the Estates were no longer summoned, and henceforward the bishops ruled at their own pleasure under French protection.

CHAPTER XXV

PREMONITIONS OF THE REVOLUTION

If we take a general glance at the condition of Switzerland on the eve of the French Revolution, we may say that, with few exceptions, the economic condition of the country was comparatively fortunate, and that consequently there was lacking the revolutionary motive which was so powerfully present in France. The subjects were not driven to despair by intolerable taxation; almost everywhere the peasant owned the land he tilled; in wide areas the combination of home industry with agriculture assisted him in securing economic prosperity; the beginnings of an urban proletariat were hardly seen.

On the other hand, Switzerland still concealed in her bosom a thousand feudal elements, and, notwithstanding her republican past, was full of inequalities and privileges that were devoid of all justification. In name, at least, numbers of the population were still serfs; almost everywhere the soil was burdened with irredeemable tithes and ground-rents. Commerce and industry were confined within the extremely rigid bonds imposed by the guilds, or were a hateful monopoly of the citizens in the capital towns. The natural circulation of blood throughout the national body was hindered by the closure of citizenship in town and country, and subject to a number of artificial obstacles, so that even the privileged towns tended to become depopulated in an ominous manner. The class distinction between the *regimentsfähig* burgher or the patrician, on the one hand, and the non-burgher or the peasant, on the other, was sharper and more humiliating than were the class distinctions in monarchies, which did not impose an absolute barrier to the ascent, in the social scale, of individual members of the lower classes. Political freedom was the privilege of a minority; there was in general but little personal freedom. The Swiss was not allowed to settle where he would in his own country; he could not freely pursue his profession; he was not free to believe as he would; he could not speak or write freely about Swiss history,

constitution, and government. In all these respects the boasted land of freedom lagged behind many of the monarchies.

The fundamental evil with which Switzerland was affected was that everywhere the separate interest of the dominant classes had taken the place of the true interests of the community. The patrician, the craftsman, the countryman, were all agreed in this, that they expected to receive direct advantages from the State. This materialistic conception of the State was as much displayed in the nepotism of the patricians, as in the coarse venality of the rural democrats, in the privileged economy of the urban handicraftsmen and manufacturers, and in the narrow spirit displayed by the village burghers towards the "settlers." It was displayed in the shameful administration of justice in the "common bailiwicks," in the hopeless weakness of the federal institutions, and in the decay of the military system. It was displayed even in the consolation which the members of the privileged class offered their subjects when they assured these that the latter also were free Swiss, since they had neither to pay taxes nor to render military service, as had the "slaves of the princes." It is true that, if freedom consists in this, that the individual renders as little service as possible to the State, the Swiss of the eighteenth century were freer than those of the nineteenth, and even freer than the Confederates of the heroic age, who did not hesitate to spend their blood and their money on behalf of the community. Nowhere was it the first aim of the rulers to make the State system as vigorous, as powerful for defence, and as efficient as possible; their leading principle was rather the preservation of the existing order at any price, since every alteration threatened the existence of their privileges.

In his famous treatise, *An Account of Switzerland*, written in 1714 (p. 105), Abraham Stanyan, the English statesman who lived as British envoy in Bern during the war of the Spanish Succession, even at that date compared the Swiss aristocracies to "inverted pyramids," which the first vigorous push must necessarily overturn. While the mass of the privileged classes sheltered themselves behind their walls in optimistic self-deception, among the better and more intelligent of them there gradually began to dawn a sense of the untenableness of existing institutions. In Bern, Albrecht von Haller, although in essence his outlook remained aristocratic, brought forward in his politico-historical

romances a number of positive proposals for reform, conceived especially for the Bernese aristocracy, and in order to bring it closer to the people. In Basel, the State secretary Isaac Iselin, founder of the Basel Society for the Promotion of the Public Welfare (*Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft*) and a thoughtful writer, demanded that only the general well-being and not the interest of the individual burghers should be the guiding star of the constitution; and he advocated the throwing open of admittance to burghership as the only means to guard against the threatening depopulation and impoverishment of his native town. In Zurich, the lively and mobile spirit of Johann Jacob Bodmer worked as a political ferment. He was an enthusiast for Rousseau and the Americans, founded a society of young men to investigate the advantages, defects, and improvements of the different kinds of government, and declared that the task of the future legislator was to alleviate the lot of the husbandman and to abolish burdens upon the land.

In the Catholic Cantons, as well, a new spirit began to show itself. In 1758, Franz Urs Balthasar, patrician and councillor of Lucerne, in a work entitled *Patriotic Dreams of a Confederate upon Means of Rejuvenating the Senile Confederation*, gave striking expression to the general complaints regarding the decay of the commonwealth. As a means for the rejuvenation of the Confederation, which had become weakly from old age, he suggested the foundation of a federal school, in which the young men who, according to their class and mental gifts, were summoned to participate in government, should receive a common and a truly national education. He declared unity and equality in the military system to be essential, and recommended a federal tax for the furnishing of a Confederate treasury, saying: "A realm cannot exist without arms; arms cannot be maintained without money; money cannot be collected without taxes."

Under the influence of the patriotic enthusiasm which Balthasar's little work awakened in many hearts, Isaac Iselin of Basel and Solomon Hirzel of Zurich founded in 1761 the "Helvetic Society" which "under the appearance of a simple recreation" aimed at making distinguished Confederates personally acquainted one with another, at reinvigorating the long frozen sentiment of Swiss community, and at overthrowing the barriers between the inhabitants of different Cantons and the adherents of different creeds. In the

annual assemblies of the society in Schinznach and Olten leading men from all parts of Switzerland, Catholics and Protestants, burghers from capital cities and country towns, inhabitants of Cantons and the Allies, actually did meet and listened with enthusiasm to the patriotic inaugural addresses and subsequent papers. It was at the suggestion of this society that Lavater wrote his fiery *Schweizerlieder* (1767), which were soon sung everywhere as songs for the people. Bold words were occasionally uttered at the meetings. For example, in 1777, the junker Stockar of Schaffhausen ventured to make the complaint that the common fatherland had unfortunately become for the Swiss an invisible beauty, and said that he would therefore regard as reasonable the wish "that our free states should fuse into a single state whose burghers should all have equal rights and duties." In the circles of the upper aristocracy the festivals of the Helvetic fraternity at Schinznach caused headshakings and uneasiness, so that Bern, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Solothurn temporarily forbade all attendance at them. In the central regions of Switzerland the ecclesiastics added their ban; but it never occurred to the Helvetic Society to advocate practical reforms or to enter upon revolutionary courses. More tangible aims were pursued by the "Helvetic-Military Society," founded in 1779, which laid before the Swiss Diet proposals for the improvement of the military system, without, however, attaining any result. Both societies were noteworthy as symptoms of the reawakening of the idea of an organised Swiss State in lieu of a loose Confederation, but their activities had no practical outcome whatsoever. Who can say whether the seed which they sowed would ultimately have ripened, whether Switzerland would have found force enough of her own, without external help, to drag her out of her numbness, and to fashion for herself new forms of existence? Another and more painful way had been prescribed by destiny.

In the year 1789 the Great Revolution began in France, a country with which Switzerland had very numerous ties. The absolute monarchy of the Bourbons was suddenly transformed into the prophetess of the inalienable rights of man, of liberty, and of equality. The more powerful the Revolution became at home, the more stormily did it carry on its propaganda abroad. Under the watchword "war to the palaces, peace to the huts," the Girondists, in

April, 1792, started the crusade against ancient Europe; and the revolutionary war immediately began to rage in the most threatening proximity to Switzerland.

The prince-bishop of Basel had been so injudicious as to call in the aid of Austrian troops to assist in the repression of revolutionary activities in Porrentruy in 1791. This intervention on the part of the Emperor gave the French the desired excuse for intervening in the opposite sense. Immediately after the declaration of war upon Austria, a section of the French army of the Rhine crossed the frontier near Porrentruy; whereupon the bishop fled to Bienne, and the Austrians withdrew across the Rhine. Genuine Swiss territory was not invaded, for as yet the French had not set foot upon the unmistakably Swiss portion of the bishopric. The Swiss Diet ordered that the frontier near Basel should be garrisoned by Swiss troops, and declared neutrality in the customary manner, including in this declaration Neuchâtel, Geneva, and the bishopric of Basel. The French, however, maintained that they were not bound to recognise as neutral any other States than those which had constituted the Swiss Confederation in the alliance of 1777, and they remained in Porrentruy.

The Revolution turned the relations between Switzerland and France upside down. The dominant classes in Switzerland watched the sinister movement with alarm and aversion. The sympathies of official Switzerland went out to the *ancien régime*, to the king and not to the new power, that of the French National Assembly. In Fribourg and Solothurn, the French émigrés, nobles and priests, were received with so much sympathy that in the spring of 1792 Barthélemy, the representative of official and constitutional France, left the old-established embassy in Solothurn, removing to Baden, and in 1795 to Basel.

The French revolutionary parties returned the dislike of official Switzerland with interest. Under the aegis of the leaders of the Left in the French National Assembly, some banished Fribourgers and Genevese founded in Paris in 1790 a "Swiss Club," whose avowed aim it was to revolutionise Switzerland. With the aid of the clubs in Franche-Comté affiliated to the Jacobin Club they flooded their own country with revolutionary pamphlets and placards; an armed attack was even planned, and an attempt was made to win over the Swiss regiments to this movement. The intrigues of the

Swiss Club seemed to the Swiss governments so dangerous that it was thought necessary to counteract the influence of the club by strengthening the police supervision of foreigners and the control of the printing press. Seizure and destruction of pamphlets and infringement of the secrecy of correspondence were daily incidents; and Bern maintained salaried spies in Paris to furnish precise reports concerning the deliberations and designs of the dreaded club.

While by such means the artificial propaganda might really be hindered, it was difficult to effect anything against the natural propaganda which was found in the mere example of the great neighbour nation. In a thousand different ways the new gospel of liberty and equality forced itself upon the country and exercised its work of dissolution; the political and economic pressure exercised upon the "subject" by the towns seemed doubled and tripled. Naturally the movement first took hold of the French-speaking regions which, by proximity, speech, and community of civilisation, were most closely associated with France. From 1790 onwards, the inhabitants of Vaud displayed an unwonted irritability towards their gracious lords and masters in Bern; and the man in whom the Helvetian revolution was most definitely to be embodied, Frédéric César Laharpe, at that time tutor in the imperial household at Petrograd, endeavoured from that spot to give the movement a definite aim. In France, the Revolution had begun with the summoning of the States General; and Laharpe hoped to light up the revolution in Vaud by demanding the resummoning of the Estates, which had ceased to meet under the rule of Bern. On July 14th, 1791, the inhabitants of Vaud celebrated the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille in noisy festivals, displaying the colours of the new France, singing revolutionary songs, and endeavouring to secure a closer union of the towns of Vaud for the demand that the Estates should be summoned, without, however, as yet even thinking of revolt. In Bern this was looked upon as the beginning of the revolution. An extraordinary commission of the Estates (*Standeskommission*) was despatched to Vaud to punish the guilty; German-speaking troops from Bern with sixty guns entered Lausanne; and on September 30th, deputations from all the towns of Vaud had to march between files of soldiers, amid the thunder of artillery, to the castle of Lausanne, there to receive

a sharp reprimand from the members of the high commission throned in armchairs. The fugitive ringleader of the demonstration, Amédée de Laharpe of Rolle, a man of like sentiments with his cousin Frédéric César, was sentenced to death *in contumaciam* for attempting to found secret societies; and his property was confiscated. Two members of the Lausanne Council of Two Hundred, Rosset and Müller de la Mothe, were condemned to twenty-five years imprisonment in a fortress; and a number of other persons were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, banishment, fines, or deposition from office. In this way there was scattered throughout Vaud a disastrous seed of bitterness and hatred. But the procedure of the Bernese was mild in comparison with that of the government of the Upper Valais. When, in the autumn of 1791, there were signs of disturbance in the Lower Valais, disorderly communes were brought to reason after the Bernese method by a commission of the Estates aided by troops. Numerous rebels were seized and taken to Sion; and here five of them were executed by sword or rope.

In proportion as the revolutionary disturbance shattered the Bourbon monarchy, the Franco-Swiss alliance visibly crumbled away. More and more difficult became the position of the 12,000 Swiss mercenaries in France, who, in contrast to the national French army, remained on the whole unaffected by the great revolutionary upheaval which roared throughout the country. For this reason the masses regarded the Swiss soldiers as likely tools of a counter-revolution, and looked upon them with hatred.

With the last hours of the monarchy came also the last hours of the "red" Swiss who had so long protected it. On August 10th, 1792, to the sound of the tocsin, the Parisian populace flocked to the Tuileries. Louis XVI allowed himself to be persuaded to leave his post; and the Parisian National Guard, which was responsible for the maintenance of order, dispersed, or fraternised with the insurgents. The soldiers of the Swiss regiment of guards, 750 in number, remained alone in the palace to resist the approaching storm. Their orders were to defend the palace to the uttermost; and neither threats nor cajolery could induce the brave men to abandon their duty as soldiers. By their well-directed fire they drove back the assailants, and by a vigorous sally they cleared the immediate neighbourhood of the palace. But in the midst of the struggle their ammunition

began to give out, and it was with relief that they received the king's command to cease firing and to withdraw to their barracks, or, as others understood, to him in the National Assembly. Some of them forced their way to the Assembly, but there, upon the king's orders, had to lay down their arms, and to surrender. Another section was in part shot down by the insurgents when marching through the Tuileries gardens, and in part sabred by the mounted gendarmerie in the Place de la Concorde; while those who remained in the Tuileries fell in the massacre which the victors carried out among the inmates of the palace. Throughout Paris the "red" Swiss were hunted down; prisoners, the guards in barracks, and even Swiss civilians, fell victims to the unchained lust of murder. Those who survived this day were slaughtered three weeks later in the September massacres; but a magnanimous officer of the National Guard, Coquet by name, saved the lives of 238 Swiss prisoners, securing their enrolment in the volunteer Paris battalions.

French national hatred had discharged itself against the Swiss in horrible butchery; and the National Assembly condoned what had been done by allowing revolutionary justice free course against the imprisoned Swiss mercenaries, and by decreeing, on August 20th, the immediate disbandment of all the Swiss regiments. News of the murder of the Swiss guard in Paris, and of the disbandment of the other regiments in defiance of the terms of the treaties, came upon the Confederation like a thunderclap. A cry of anger and distress rang through the country; and, if it had depended on the leader of the ruling caste, the Bernese mayor Nicholas Friedrich Steiger, Switzerland would have abandoned her neutrality and would have joined Austria and Prussia in the war against revolutionary France. But Steiger's views did not prevail. How could Switzerland bear the financial burdens of a war? how, in view of her defective military institutions, could she venture upon the stormy waters of an offensive struggle, and expose herself to the danger of becoming the cockpit of foreign armies? It was for these reasons that the statesmen of Zurich (the capital) and the other friends of peace held back the Bernese from the struggle. The Swiss Diet, under the leadership of Zurich, renewed the declaration of neutrality, and avoided all action which might have led to a breach with France.

Notwithstanding this peaceful disposition, or weakness, on

the part of Switzerland, the Parisian authorities were already in 1792 upon the point of forcing the revolution upon the Swiss Cantons. Here Geneva first came into question. With the exception of Paris, perhaps no single town exercised so notable an influence upon the French Revolution as did the ancient stronghold of Calvinism; to realise this it suffices to mention the names of Rousseau and Necker. Hullin, a Genevese watchmaker, subsequently general and count, led the Parisians at the storming of the Bastille. Clavière, Duroveray, Reybaz, Etienne Dumont, Genevese citizens who had been banished in 1782, supplied Mirabeau with ideas, wrote his newspapers, and composed the most celebrated of his speeches. Clavière became minister of finance under the Girondists; Duroveray was one of the diplomatists of that administration; while another Genevese, Mallet du Pan, one of the most talented journalistic opponents of the Revolution, allowed himself to be employed by the French court upon secret missions. It is not surprising that the town on the Rhone was soon drawn into the vortex of the mighty movement. In February, 1789, even before the assembly of the States General, the Genevese burghers had risen, and had secured the restoration of the arms and rights of which they had been deprived in 1782. The French propaganda spread among the "natives" and evoked disturbances, but the government always succeeded in restoring order. In September, 1792, however, news came from Paris that it was the intention of the French ministerial council to seize simultaneously Savoy and Geneva. In fact, on October 2nd, General Montesquiou appeared before the walls of the town with 3500 Frenchmen and fourteen guns. But two days earlier, in answer to an appeal for help, Bern had landed in Geneva a force of 1600 men; and a battalion from Zurich was on the way. A Bernese observation-corps, numbering 9000 men, assembled in Vaud; and Zurich prepared a reserve of 4000 men. Thanks to the speedy assistance furnished by the two towns (the last flicker in the history of the old Confederation) Montesquiou's *coup de main* was frustrated. The French general agreed to terms, in which he recognised the independence of Geneva, and withdrew his army, while the Bernese and the Zurichers evacuated the town. But immediately after the withdrawal of the Swiss troops the revolution broke out in Geneva at French instigation. In the night of December 4th–5th, 1792, the *égaliseurs* seized the outposts; on

the 12th all the natives, habitants, and subjects were granted civic rights; and on the 28th the Councils were deposed as having become useless.

Geneva now imitated the Revolution of Paris, even in all external features. It had a National Assembly, clubs, and revolutionary committees, *sansculottes* and *montagnards*, and ultimately also revolutionary murders and plunderings. On the night of July 18th–19th, 1794, spurred on by the French envoy Soulavie, the dregs of the population gained power. The town-hall became the resort of the mob, a drinking booth or revolutionary tribunal, whose members, armed with sabres and pistols, pipe in mouth and glass in hand, sat in the hall of the Two Hundred, passing death-sentences against members of the aristocracy. Thirty-seven such sentences were decreed, for the most part fortunately against fugitives. Eleven, however, were actually carried out; and the salaries which the men of the Terror voted for themselves amounted in all to 700,000 francs. The fall of Robespierre put an end also to the reign of terror in Geneva; and four of the ringleaders paid for their participation with their lives. Order was gradually restored in the profoundly disturbed town on the Rhone. Remarkable was the manner in which the little republic, abandoned by Switzerland, encircled by French territory after the French annexation of Savoy, continued through all the phases of its revolution obstinately to resist annexation by France, until it finally succumbed to rude force.

While Geneva maintained her independence until 1798, the government of Paris, which in November, 1792, had proclaimed a "République Rauracienne" in Porrentruy, declared in March, 1793, that the "imperial" territory of the bishopric of Basel was part of the French Republic, and was greatly inclined to follow up the annexation of Porrentruy by an immediate attack upon Bern. But the changed fortune of war on the Rhine and in the Netherlands impressed upon the French Republic the value of Swiss neutrality, which protected the French frontier along an unfortified line of one hundred miles. The successes of the Prusso-Austrian arms resulted, not merely in the abandonment by the revolutionary government of hostile designs against the Swiss, but even in the recognition of its financial obligations towards the disbanded regiments in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1777. The Allies were far less convinced of the utility of Swiss neutrality.

Austria and England rivalled one another in the endeavour to secure the adhesion of Switzerland to the Coalition, but neither power ventured to violate Swiss neutrality. Finally, all danger for Switzerland seemed to pass away, when on Swiss soil, on April 5th, 1795, the peace of the world was established by the signing of the treaty of Basel.

What an invaluable respite for Switzerland the years of peace from 1789 to 1797 would have been, had the leaders of the country been able to learn a lesson from the dangers which were knocking at their gates! But the greatest war of the new age did not suffice to stimulate the Cantons to reform their military system or their federal institutions. The maintenance of the motley frontier-corps at Basel, although its maximum strength did not exceed 2040 men, was a matter of incredible difficulty, so that the future conqueror of Switzerland, Reubel of Alsace, had so early as 1793, when commissary of the French army of the Rhine, emptied the vials of his mockery upon this curious Confederate military system. And just as the revolutionary epoch failed to impress upon the Cantons the need for closer association, so also did it fail to awaken the members of the ruling caste to the need for coming to an understanding with their subjects.

In the closing decade of the eighteenth century not one of the Swiss governments enjoyed a reputation for greater wisdom than did that of Zurich, the capital; and yet, just before the end came, this government was to furnish the most striking example of aristocratic obstinacy and short-sightedness.

Upon the shores of the lake of Zurich there lived an alert population which followed with an observant eye all that was happening in the world. Imperceptibly a literary society there established became transformed into a political club. Country doctors, manufacturers, communal officials, met in council, and determined to make open proclamation of the grievances of the country. In this way, in the summer of 1794, a memorial was composed at Stäfa which was to be sent to the government in the form of a petition. In firm but respectful language the "Stäfner memorial" referred to the lack of a constitution applying equally to town and country, to the restrictions imposed upon the countryfolk in matters of commerce and industry, to their exclusion from study and the

higher military positions, and to the inequitable manner in which the peasantry were burdened with taxation. It appealed to ancient charters of liberty which had in course of time passed into oblivion, but appealed also to the inalienable rights of man which a people can lose neither by sale nor by conquest, and exhorted the government to display its well-known wisdom by inducing the burghers of the town to make a voluntary sacrifice of their privileges.

The final wording of the petition had not yet been determined when the government was informed of its existence, and had the prime movers placed under arrest. Statesmen from other Cantons advised that the privileges as to commerce and industry which had now become indefensible should be renounced at a moment when renunciation would still seem an act of grace. The government, however, regarded itself as primarily responsible to the town burghers; and these considered their economic privileges as the most valuable attribute of their dominant position. Whoever spoke in Zurich of the relinquishment of the privileges was regarded as a traitor and a Jacobin. Consequently the potter Nehracher of Stäfa, who drew up the memorial, was condemned to banishment from the Confederation for six years; the surgeon Fenninger of Stäfa was banished for four years for being the real author of the memorial, and the surgeon Staub of Pfäffikon was banished for four years for having distributed it; while seventy other persons were, as collaborators and accomplices, sentenced to fines, deposition from office, prohibition of entry to taverns, and so on. The memorial itself, with summaries and transcripts of the document, was solemnly committed to the flames by the sergeant of the court.

If the government imagined that this settled the matter, it was soon to be rudely disillusioned. In the course of the inquiry, a member of the government had declared that, if documentary proof could be furnished that the countryfolk had been deprived of their liberties, the authorities would not close their ears to complaints. Now the inhabitants of the rural districts had such proof in their hands. Copies of ancient awards by arbitrators by which in 1489 the Confederates, intervening in an uprising against the burgomaster Hans Waldmann, had established certain liberties for the different parts of the country, were circulating in the Canton; as well as copies of the Kappel charter of 1531, which secured for the rural districts a right of co-operation in alliances and declarations of

war; and the commune of Küsnacht ventured to ask the authorities whether these charters were still to be regarded as valid or not. The government endeavoured to silence the inconvenient questioners by the declaration of *Hochdero Misfallens* (their High Displeasure) and by threats of punishment. The men living on the lake, however, felt that in these documents they had a secure legal ground under their feet, for, though these charters had lapsed, they had never been expressly repealed; and confidence was increased when on closer investigation the original copies came to light. The commune of Stäfa, which was especially moved by the banishment of some of its inhabitants, determined to send a deputation to ask its gracious lords whether the charters were still operative, and, if not, when and how they had ceased to be valid. In other communes, also, committees were formed to act in conjunction with the men of Stäfa.

In Zurich all this was regarded as a wicked attack upon the legally established order of the State. Instead of undertaking an objective examination of the documents to which appeal had been made, the government refused to receive the deputation from Stäfa, and instituted a fresh criminal investigation. When the Stäfa men who had been cited to Zurich, appealing to the joint liability of the commune, disregarded the summons to Zurich, and when an ultimatum of the government, demanding the revocation of the resolution passed by the commune and obedience to the summons under pain of punishment for high treason, remained without effect, the government took measures for the forcible subjection of the rebellious commune. Its authority was still sufficiently great to secure the obedience, though largely the reluctant obedience, of the cantonal militia. On Sunday, July 5th, 1795, the village of Stäfa was occupied by troops. The Stäfa men allowed themselves to be disarmed without resistance, and their leaders were brought in fetters to Zurich. In the other disturbed communes numerous arrests were made.

In the capital there prevailed a most intense feeling of bitterness towards the rebels; and sentences of death would doubtless have been carried out had not pastor Lavater and others used all their influence to prevent this. But at least the spectacle of an imaginary execution was a gratification which could not be denied; and on September 3rd this display took place on the Rabenstein, on the

person of the elderly communal treasurer Bodmer, regarded as the leader of the rebels, in the presence of five other ringleaders who had to stand with bare heads and look on whilst the executioner brandished his sword over their kneeling comrade. They were then escorted back to the prison, and sentenced to imprisonment for life or for long terms. The total number of persons punished was 267. The commune of Stäfa had to pay the costs of the military operations, in so far as these were not covered by fines. The charters which had raised the storm were seized by the government and declared "obsolete" and "no longer applicable."

No sooner did the revolutionary flames seem extinguished in the Canton of Zurich than they burst forth in the principality of St Gall. So early as 1793 some of the communes had refused to pay certain dues; and in 1795 the movement spread throughout the entire region. Everywhere communal meetings were held, committees elected, grievances formulated; and Beda, the kind-hearted prince-abbot, made peace with his people by agreeing, over the heads of the opposing monks, to almost all that was demanded by the communal committees. All dues payable on account of hereditary serfdom were to be commuted for a moderate sum; the small tithes were to be remitted; the militia was to be led by a war-commission appointed by the people; and so on. Prince-abbot Beda even agreed to the holding of a popular assembly at Gossau on November 23rd, 1795, where he appeared in person, amid the rejoicings of the people, to seal the pact with his subjects.

In the monastery, however, profound discontent prevailed on account of Abbot Beda's concessions; in a secret protest the chapter determined to revoke them as having been obtained by force. When Beda died on May 19th, 1796, Pankraz Vorster, an unyielding representative of the monastic interests, succeeded to his office, and at once endeavoured to tighten the reins. New disturbances consequently broke out. In 1797 Abbot Pankraz invoked the intervention of the protector Cantons, Zurich, Lucerne, Schwyz, and Glarus; but this intervention was effected only by the sending of representatives, and not, as the abbot had desired, in the form of troops. The insurgent committees now demanded the institution of a regional council to be appointed by popular election, like that which already existed in the Toggenburg; and the representatives considered the situation so threatening that order

could be restored only by compliance with their demand. The prince-abbot endeavoured to escape the need for compliance by taking refuge in Germany, but in the end he had to give his consent. The conduct of the four protector Cantons in St Gall showed that the ruling classes in Switzerland were already beginning to doubt the efficiency of the repressive system which had hitherto prevailed. But this doubt was not so much the result of an inner change of sentiment as of dread of revolutionary France.

BOOK IV

THE PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION 1798–1815

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FALL OF THE OLD CONFEDERATION

In proportion as in the Revolutionary war success attended the French arms, respect for Swiss neutrality declined in Paris. When at length General Bonaparte, in a brilliant and victorious campaign, had completely conquered Lombardy, this neutrality was felt to be a tiresome obstacle. In Bonaparte's brain matured the plan of seizing the Alpine stronghold whose passes offered the shortest means of communication between France and Italy, and from which Germany and Austria could be threatened in flank. This motive was reinforced by the desire of the revolutionaries to clear out the detested nests of aristocrats in Switzerland, and to make their rumoured state-treasures available to fill the depleted purse of the Republic; such motives were especially active in the case of the most influential member of the French Directory, Reubel, the Colmar lawyer. When by the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor (September 4th, 1797) the revolutionary war party in the Directory got rid of its moderate opponents in the government, in parliament, and in the press, the fate of Switzerland was sealed. Reubel and Bonaparte were given a free hand. The Directory opened hostilities on September 15th by demanding of Bern the expulsion of the English envoy Wickham. When Wickham allowed himself to be persuaded by Mayor Steiger to leave Switzerland voluntarily, the Directory immediately advanced fresh claims, threatening the Cantons because of the continued wearing in Switzerland of knightly orders that had been granted to Swiss officers and statesmen under the Bourbon régime, such as the *cordon rouge des chevaliers de St Louis*. This was regarded as an insult to the Republic, while the tolerance of the émigrés in Switzerland was an

additional grievance. The right of asylum was one which had been traditionally maintained against unreasonable demands even by aristocratic Switzerland, but now the aristocratic governments most lamentably abandoned this right from fear of the rulers in Paris. Old men, women, and children and even invalids were conducted to the frontier; but this did not secure peace for Switzerland.

While the Directory was seeking an excuse for picking a quarrel with Switzerland, Bonaparte, in Italy, had already taken action against the Confederation. Various attempts to revolutionise the Italian bailiwicks, and to induce them to join Lombardy, now "liberated" by Bonaparte, were frustrated by the loyalty with which the inhabitants, notwithstanding their subject position, adhered to the Swiss Confederation. The longing for annexation felt by the Lombards found better prepared soil in the Valtelline, where the nobility and the clergy had long desired separation from the Grisons. On May 29th, 1797, the ecclesiastical and temporal leaders of the valley met in the church of St Peter, below Berbenno, in order to sign a joint undertaking to secure separation from the Grisons; on June 21st the independence of the Valtelline was formally declared, and the Grisons officials were expelled. The Graubündeners endeavoured to secure the integrity of their country by sending a deputation to Bonaparte; and, as their envoy Gaudenz Planta offered to accept the Valtelline as a fourth member of the Raetian commonwealth, the general was unable to refuse to mediate upon this basis. But, when a referendum was made to the communes of the Grisons, a negative answer was returned; and this gave Bonaparte the desired excuse to decree, on October 19th, 1797, that the inhabitants of the three regions of the Valtelline, Chiavenna, and Bormio were free to join the Cisalpine Republic established by him, "for no people can be held in subjection to another without violation of the principles of public law"—as if the Lombards at this moment had been anything other than subjects of France. The inhabitants of the Valtelline celebrated their separation from Switzerland by an act of pure brigandage, namely by the confiscation of all private property belonging to Swiss owners in the three regions; the sum amounted to several millions, and the Salis family suffered the heaviest losses.

Thus without a blow Switzerland lost the key of its eastern

Alpine passes; but so utterly had all federal sentiment died out, that elsewhere in Switzerland this was regarded as a loss which affected the Grisons alone. In November, 1797, Bonaparte could venture to make his way right across Switzerland on his way to the congress of Rastadt, and was received, not as an enemy, but as a triumphant conqueror. In Vaud "the deliverer of Italy," the "liberator of the Valtelline," was welcomed with frenzied enthusiasm. Everywhere the men of Vaud displayed the motto "no people can be held in subjection to another." Even in Bern a salute of 150 guns was fired in honour of his arrival; and Basel paid him the honours due to a crowned head. It is not surprising that the keen-sighted soldier recognised the defencelessness of this federation of States, or that Reubel could say a few weeks later, "when I look at Switzerland I seem to be looking at a dish of little tarts which may be gobbled up one after another without anyone noticing."

In Basel, Bonaparte had a conversation with the head guildmaster Peter Ochs. Sprung from a distinguished Basel family, but born in France and educated after the French fashion, Ochs had remained free from the prejudices of the caste to which he belonged by birth, and was at heart also estranged from his fatherland. The public activity open to him in Basel did not suffice any longer to attach him to his home, this "decayed Confederation without constitution or laws"; the petty self-seeking of the rulers, whose highest aim it was to retain their wretched privileges and inflated authority, aroused in him sentiments of mockery and aversion. France was his true home; he felt with the French a burning enthusiasm for liberty and enlightenment; he expected the rejuvenation of the world to come from Paris. Ochs was talented but shallow, a man who recognised clearly enough the drawbacks in his own land, but was blind in his admiration for France and its revolution. Immeasurably vain, he regarded himself as the predestined regenerator of Switzerland, if only France would furnish him the means. Consequently the wishes of the ambitious head guildmaster of Basel harmonised with those of Bonaparte and Reubel, who recognised in him a fit tool for the execution of their designs against Switzerland. Upon Bonaparte's invitation, Ochs hastened to Paris, ostensibly to negotiate there concerning the annexation to Switzerland of the Frickthal in Aargau which had long belonged to Austria, but in the peace of Campo Formio (1797) had been ceded by Austria to

France. On December 8th, 1797, after a dinner in Reubel's house, Reubel, Bonaparte, and Ochs had their decisive interview. Ochs declared that the only means of making Switzerland a faithful ally of the French Republic was to replace "the federal system which was so pleasing to Austria" by a unified state. He asked that France should station an observation corps on the frontier, and that she should declare her protection extended over all "who are labouring for the regeneration of their country." Finally he urged that the annexation of the bishopric of Basel should be completed by the annexation of the Swiss portion of the bishopric, of the Val Moutier, the St Imier Valley, and Bienne, and that France should bring into operation its "guarantee of the liberties of Vaud," should, that is to say, take action against Bern under Laharpe's guidance.

Frédéric César Laharpe of Rolle disputed with Peter Ochs of Basel the honour of showing the French the way into his country. Laharpe united the enthusiasm for liberty felt by the idealist of the age of enlightenment to the wounded pride of the noble of Vaud, and both combined to inspire him with a burning hatred for Bern. As a young man he had practised in Bern as an advocate, but the rough expression used to him by a patrician who was in other respects friendly, "Do you know that you are our subject?" had wounded him so profoundly that he went abroad. At the Russian court he found a successful field of activity as tutor to the grandchildren of Catherine II, and since he inspired his distinguished pupils, and especially the subsequent Tsar Alexander, with a strong personal affection, he might have renewed the brilliant career of a Lefort, had not his ardent sentiments impelled him to work from Petrograd on behalf of the revolution in Vaud. The outcome of the Bastille-festival of 1791 in Vaud, and the death-sentence decreed against his cousin Amédée, were not likely to make his sentiments towards the Bernese any milder. The Bernese, by direct and indirect denunciations, made his stay at the Russian court impossible, while his home was closed to him through the issue of a warrant for his arrest. His cousin, after rising rapidly in the French service to the rank of general of division, had met his death in Bonaparte's Italian campaign; and Laharpe, while residing in Geneva, vainly endeavoured, as guardian of his cousin's family, to secure the restoration of the latter's property, which had been sequestrated by Bern. From Geneva he went to Paris, and thence, as avenger of

his family, began a fierce paper war against Bern. By nature he was essentially magnanimous, but in his ardent hatred he so far forgot himself that in his memorials, pamphlets, and newspaper articles he not only directed the greed of the French towards the treasures and arsenals of Bern, but also recommended them to gain over to the French side the French-speaking Swiss in one way or another. It was he, finally, who furnished the Directory with the desired excuse for intervention in Switzerland, in the fable of the French guarantee of the liberties of Vaud, based upon the Lausanne treaty of 1564. By virtue of this alleged guarantee, the Directory was to demand from Bern and Fribourg the restoration of the Estates of Vaud, and to support this demand by moving troops to the frontier. On December 9th, 1797, the day after Peter Ochs had dined with Reubel, Laharpe handed to the Directory a petition in this sense, signed by himself and nineteen other refugees, mostly from Fribourg.

Seldom indeed has the intervention of a foreign State been dictated by hollower reasons than in this case. To begin with, it was an unprecedented step to question a legal status which had lasted for more than two hundred years, and had always been recognised by France, on the ground of forgotten sixteenth century documents; but the matter was rendered even worse by the fact that in the charters to which Laharpe appealed there was nothing at all about the matters which he read into them. Finally, even if Laharpe's reasoning had been sound, when had twenty private individuals living abroad acquired the right to appeal for the intervention of a foreign government in the name of an entire country which had given them neither mandate nor credentials? Talleyrand, French minister for foreign affairs, advised in his written opinion that the petition should be rejected. To the Directory, however, the imaginary reasons found by Laharpe seemed good enough for the opening of negotiations with Switzerland. On December 28th, 1797, it was decided to make the members of the governments of Bern and Fribourg personally responsible for the safety of the Vaudois, who, by virtue of the old treaties, had demanded or might in future demand the mediation of the French Republic on behalf of the re-establishment of their ancient rights. This was a formal incitement to the people of Vaud to revolt, with a guarantee of the protection of the French government. It was

a declaration of war upon Switzerland; and the Directory immediately despatched a division by forced marches to the lake of Geneva. A fortnight earlier, as legal successor of the bishop of Basel, the Directory had occupied the Val Moutier, the Valley of St Imier, and Neuveville, and had pushed its troops forward to the lake of Bienne.

At the same time the diplomatic agents of France in Switzerland received orders to do everything they could to stimulate revolutionary movements, so that the other Cantons might be rendered incapable of coming to the support of Bern, which alone was regarded as possessing any power of resistance. The French envoy, Mengaud, carried on this work from Basel with amazing activity and audacity. His emissaries went through the country, and parcels full of pamphlets were sent by him to all the inns, all the pastors, all the presidents of communal councils. Even the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed were parodied to serve Mengaud's agitation. While he showered coarse threats upon Bern, his mouth was full of friendship for the rest of Switzerland. He gave assurances that the only purpose of France was to deliver the sons of William Tell from their tyrants, the oligarchs. He promised the peasants a free constitution based on equality before the law, and, what was still more effective, the abolition of tithes and ground-rents; he asseverated that the French Republic had not the remotest thought of attacking the freedom of Switzerland, or of trying to secure wealth or aggrandisement at her cost; the only thought of the French government was to secure the overthrow of the bloodthirsty aristocrats, the common enemies of France and of the Swiss people.

Among the disaffected masses these incitements fell upon all too favourable soil. Vainly did well-meaning men, both at home and abroad, urge the rulers to avert the threatening storm by the immediate announcement of general equality before the law; the Swiss aristocracies could not make up their minds to such a sacrifice until it was too late. Just as little, however, had they the courage to meet the demands of France by energetic measures. At the request of Bern federal representatives did indeed visit the town; and on the invitation of the Vorort an extraordinary meeting of the Swiss Diet took place at Aarau on December 26th, 1797. It was the last Diet of the Old Confederation. But neither in Bern nor in Aarau did

they get beyond empty words. The members of the Diet thought it a great achievement when, after a month of negotiation, they passed a unanimous resolution that the old federal oath, which had fallen into abeyance since the Reformation, should now be renewed, as if an oath could scare away the French battalions standing ready for invasion! On January 25th, 1798, the federal oath was solemnly sworn in Aarau. Then the Diet dispersed, for news came that the revolution had broken out, and that the enemy was already upon Swiss soil.

The first visible result of French intrigues was seen at Basel. When the town hesitated to yield to a stormy demand on the part of the rural population for legal equality, on January 17th, 1798, the tree of liberty was erected at Liesthal, and the castles of the bailiffs were burned. The town, terrified at the prospect of an attack by the countryfolk, hastened on January 18th to announce freedom and equality for town and country, delivering to the committees of the peasants assembled at Liesthal a formal charter sealed with the great Cantonal seal. In the town, by resolutions of the Council, a tree of liberty with a red cap and tricolour streamers was erected in front of the venerable Minster, and the Great Council resigned its authority into the hands of a "national assembly" composed of townsmen and countrymen. Thanks to this timely revolution, Basel escaped the plundering of its treasuries and arsenals by the French, but its fate was thereby temporarily separated from that of the Confederation. Mengaud was now the true master of Basel; the French troops and ammunition-waggons destined for the attack upon their Confederate brothers were allowed by the people of Basel to pass through without resistance.

Vaud followed in the footsteps of Basel. For some time the people of Vaud hesitated between the hope of self-government and anxiety as to the designs of the foreign liberators who stood under arms upon their frontiers. But when news came that once more, as in 1791, the German-speaking troops of Bern were on the way, this decided the issue, for Vaud preferred to see the French in Lausanne. On January 24th, 1798, the *République Lémanique* was proclaimed, and from the capital the movement spread throughout the country regions with lightning speed. Trees of liberty were planted; green banners inscribed with the words "République Lémanique, Liberté et Indépendance" waved from all the windows;

green cockades were seen in every hat as symbols of freedom; bands marched through the streets; the Bernese arms were torn down or defaced, while the Bernese bailiffs and officials were politely requested to leave the country. Four days later, on January 28th, a French division under General Ménard crossed the frontier, a collision between a French bearer of a flag of truce and the village guard of Thierrens (a village inspired with Bernese sentiments) having given the French the desired excuse for invasion.

The entry of the French troops into Vaud gave the signal for the general Helvetic revolution. The governments did indeed offer troops in response to Bern's appeal for aid. In most of the Cantons, however, the people regarded the French, not as enemies, but as friends and liberators, and refused to march against them. On January 29th, the Great Council of Zurich determined to liberate those who had been condemned in consequence of the Stäfa affair, to repay all the fines and war costs, and to restore the forfeited weapons and charters. Repentance came too late. All that the second largest Canton in the Confederation could laboriously furnish from the town and the loyally disposed communes on behalf of the defence of the country consisted of two battalions, comprising 1400 men, who set out for Bern. In view of the threatening attitude of the countryfolk, the Council, on February 5th, decreed liberty and equality before the law, and announced the summoning of a popular assembly for the elaboration of a new constitution. Trees of liberty were now planted in the villages of the rural regions of Zurich. The Zurich countryfolk took up arms, indeed, but only in order to complete the humiliation of the town, and to dictate their own terms; at one time 14,000 men were ready to storm the fortifications of Zurich.

In Schaffhausen, also, on February 6th, the town granted the countryfolk liberty and equality; but the peasants of Schaffhausen were even more unwilling to take the field on behalf of Bern than were those of Zurich. Lucerne, influenced by liberal members of the patriciate, initiated the revolution even earlier than Zurich. On January 31st, the Great Council unanimously agreed to the abolition of the aristocracy, recognising the rights of man and the sovereignty of the people. The revolution broke out also in the principality of the abbot of St Gall. To avert an attack on the monastery, the alarmed chapter, on February 4th, solemnly re-

signed all sovereignty into the hands of the people. Pankraz Vorster, the dethroned prince-abbot, who could no longer find in Switzerland any place for his monastic rule, went to Vienna, to try his fortune with the Emperor. In the "common bailiwicks," too, in Thurgau, in the Rheinthal, in the regions of Sargans, at Uznach and Gaster, Lugano and Mendrisio, the "subjects" rose in revolt, popular assemblies or committees met together, and demanded and secured enfranchisement from the ruling Cantons. Delighted with their newly won freedom, the Swiss people seemed completely to forget that a greedy enemy was already on their territory. According to the roll of their militia, the Confederates, without Bern, should have been able to provide 100,000 men for defence; at the mobilisation, in response to Bern's appeal for aid, there were forthcoming in all 4900 men from Zurich, Lucerne, the Forest Cantons, Zug, Glarus, and the town of St Gall; and the utilisation of this scanty force was subjected to so many limiting conditions that the 4900 Confederates returned home without having fired a single shot in the defence of Bern.

It was owing to the Bernese alone that Switzerland did not fall into the hands of the French without a struggle. In Bern, Fribourg, and Solothurn, as elsewhere, the patricians, in order to deprive France of all excuse for an attack, proposed, at the end of January and the beginning of February, to alter the constitutions in the democratic sense, and for the time being admitted representatives from the rural districts into their cantonal councils. Consequently General Brune, who took over from Ménard the supreme command of the French troops in Switzerland, wrote to Paris: "If all you wish from Switzerland is a constitutional alteration, there need be no bloodshed whatever." The Directory, however, desired the subjection of Switzerland, and above all the millions of Bern; Brune therefore received orders to advance. He still required time to assemble the necessary cavalry and artillery, and to concentrate a second army-corps in the neighbourhood of Bienne, under the command of General Schauenburg. Therefore, as he wrote to Paris, he kept the Bernese "amused" for a while with deceitful negotiations.

The Bernese patriciate, which was extremely fond of boasting its hereditary wisdom, displayed conspicuous incapacity in this crisis; and yet, notwithstanding the wretched state of the Confederation,

a successful defence of Bern and of its two outposts, Fribourg and Solothurn, would have been by no means impossible. The shameful loss of Vaud and the blunt threats and abuse of Mengaud had made a profound impression on German-speaking Bern. In general, the Bernese peasants were not fooled by the hypocritical phrases of the French, and demanded nothing better than to be led against the enemy with all possible speed, and "to drive them home with butt and bayonet." In the German-speaking regions of Fribourg and in Solothurn similar sentiments prevailed. Bern had 24,000 men under arms, Solothurn and Fribourg 3000. At the beginning of February, the French had at their disposal something more than 8000 men in the Jura and 11,000 in Vaud. Thus a bold attack upon the French might well have been successful. The old mayor Nicholas Steiger, in understanding with the Bernese commander Karl Ludwig von Erlach, urged resolute action. But another section of the Bernese council, led by Frisching the treasurer, rendered all vigorous measures impossible; it was through their influence that the town negotiated with Brune for weeks instead of attacking him.

During this truce, Brune's army, with the accession of corps from Vaud, increased to 21,700 men, and that of Schauenburg to 19,600 men, so that in the beginning of March there were more than 41,000 men in the field against Bern. As the French attacking force increased, the Swiss power of resistance diminished. The Bernese militia was capable of a vigorous forward movement, but lacked the firmness and tenacity indispensable for a long period of waiting in the field, especially during winter. The Swiss troops could not understand why they should remain inactive in front of the enemy week after week, or be marched purposelessly to and fro; discontent and suspicion became rife. With a heavy heart the valiant Erlach watched the internal decomposition of his army. Accompanied by seventy-two officers, he appeared in the Great Council on February 26th, explained Brune's deceitful game, insisted upon the disastrous character of the vacillating policy hitherto pursued, and demanded that he should either be discharged from duty or given authority to attack. His speech made a powerful impression, and by a unanimous vote the Council gave the general the desired authority.

Thereupon Erlach laid his plans for an offensive. Hardly, however, had he begun the preparatory movements, when from the council

of war in Bern counter-orders were issued to Erlach's subordinates, ignoring their commander; the friends of peace had once more gained the upper hand in the Council. This was the death-blow to the Bernese army. On the one hand, the sudden cessation of the attacking movement threw everything into confusion, and deprived the soldiers of all confidence in their leaders, and, on the other, it inspired the officers and the rank and file with an erroneous belief in the persistence of the truce, and made them careless about the enemy. At this moment Brune and Schauenburg opened their attack. Before dawn on March 2nd, Schauenburg advanced from Bienne against Solothurn, and drove the surprised Bernese and Solothurn posts before him. Some of the Bernese battalions were still holding out under the walls of Solothurn when at eleven in the forenoon the Solothurn government capitulated. The consequence was that the whole right wing of the Bernese army, which should have co-operated with the Solothurners, simply melted away. The stand made by Fribourg against Brune was as feeble as that made by Solothurn against Schauenburg. The French had hardly thrown a few shells into the town when the government capitulated; and a Bernese battalion, which had reinforced the Fribourgers, had just time to leave the town while the French were entering it. On March 3rd, Brune occupied Morat, where the memorial of the victory of the Confederates over Charles the Bold was destroyed by the French.

After the fall of Fribourg and Solothurn, Erlach endeavoured to place his troops round Bern so as to protect it. But his orders were not obeyed, for in some cases they were countermanded by instructions issued by the council of war in the town, while in other cases the men mutinied, occupied new positions at their own discretion, or simply ran away. Nowhere in the Bernese army did there any longer exist unity or co-operation. To complete the anarchy, early in the morning of March 4th the Bernese Council abdicated, yielding place to a provisional government of townsmen and countrymen, for in the event of such an abdication Brune had promised to suspend hostilities. A few months earlier the abdication of the patriciate would have been a magnanimous act; but now, in the middle of the struggle, it was mere weakness, for a change of government during such a crisis deprived the people of their last support. The *Landsturm*, utterly worthless from a military point

of view, had been levied at the last moment; and this body, becoming infected with the idea that treason had been committed, degenerated into an insane mob. The two colonels, Ryhiner and Stettler, reputed to be traitors, were first cruelly mishandled in front of the town by their own men and were then shot.

What was being done with the Confederate reinforcements, which, despite their scanty numbers, might now have been of the greatest value to Bern? While the Bernese were facing the enemy, the Lucerne men kept far away from the fire, for the new government of Lucerne had sent orders to their forces to remain in Langenthal. On March 4th the field war-council of Uri, Schwyz, and Glarus, declared that, in view of the hopeless situation of Bern, they were compelled to consider the protection and rescue of their own lands and therefore asked permission to withdraw; they were not ashamed to add that it had been always their fixed desire to aid their beloved fellow-Confederates of Bern with faithful Swiss loyalty, of which they had up to this very hour given ample proof. With faithful Swiss loyalty these descendants of the heroes of Sempach and Näfels took the homeward route, at the very moment when Bern was about to undertake a last struggle, determined to fall at least with honour!

Brune, who whenever Bern agreed to one demand immediately advanced another, continued his rascally game by insisting that he should be allowed to occupy the town with 600 men. Thereupon a sense of patriotic shame overwhelmed the new government, and at 3 a.m. on March 5th it was determined that this demand should be rejected, and that matters should be allowed to take their course.

Meanwhile, Brune had already begun the struggle. Shortly after midnight, Brigade-general Pijon, with 5000 men, had attacked a strong Bernese post which barred the road from Fribourg to Bern at the bridge of Neueneck; the Bernese force of about 1000 men, under the command of Colonel von Graffenried, was compelled to retreat. A company of sharpshooters, posted in a clearing in a wood, keeping up a well-aimed fire by moonlight, continued to hold the French in check, and thus gave Graffenried time to withdraw to Bern. To the sound of the tocsin he and his able adjutant-general Weber, of Brüttelen, got together about 2300 of the best and most trustworthy militiamen, who were then led against an enemy more than double their strength. At nine in the morning the Bernese

attacked the enemy's advance-guard in the before-mentioned clearing in the wood and drove them back after a fierce skirmish. On emerging from the wood they encountered the main body of the hostile brigade. For a moment the brave fellows hesitated in face of the volleys of musketry and the discharge of grapeshot, and then continued their advance at the double-quick to the strains of the famous "Bernese march." The hostile battery beat a hasty retreat; the French were driven from position to position by the fierce bayonet onslaughts of the Bernese militia, and were ultimately chased in complete disorder through the village of Neueneck and across the Sense. But at three o'clock a dragoon arrived with the overwhelming intelligence that Bern had fallen, and brought orders to cease fighting.

The decisive issue had, in fact, taken place to the north of the town. Erlach had found it impossible to carry out the plan of defence he had planned, by combining the several detachments so as to constitute a coherent line. The main body lay on the road from Solothurn to Bern, but was dispersed in casually chosen positions. Thus several battalions had at their own discretion established themselves at Fraubrunnen, where by Erlach's orders no soldiers at all were to be placed; whereas at Grauholz, which he had selected for his principal position, he had barely 1000 men at his disposal. At 6 a.m. on March 5th Schauenburg attacked the Bernese battalions at Fraubrunnen and dispersed them. Five miles to the south of Fraubrunnen, at the foot of the hillock of Grauholz, Erlach, with two battalions and five guns, had taken up a position which it was impossible to hold with so weak a force. The expected reinforcements did not arrive. It seems that the general, in gloomy resignation, now desired nothing but an honourable soldier's death on the field. Steiger, the mayor, sixty-nine years of age, was inspired with similar sentiments; after the abdication of the patriciate he had hastened to join his friend at Grauholz, hoping that his presence might help to encourage the troops.

Confused masses of fugitives were closely pursued by the French along the road leading from Fraubrunnen. By a vigorous artillery and musketry fire the little force behind the barricade at Grauholz held the enemy in check for a time. But the French surrounded the Bernese position on the left flank and threatened it in the rear. The little army now broke up. Isolated groups continued to resist up to

the very gates of the town; and a few valiant artillery men were discharging grapeshot even at the members of the French general staff. Then a young patrician galloped out of the gate of Bern, and passing through the cross-fire of the artillery made his way to Schauenburg, bringing the news of the capitulation of the town in order to avoid the horrors of a storm.

At half-past-two the conqueror entered the fallen town of the Zähringers; on the following day Brune came from Morat. The Bernese forces and reserves that yet remained in the field dispersed, uttering maledictions upon the traitors. The unfortunate Erlach, who set out for the Oberland in order thence to continue the resistance, was attacked by a raging mob of Landsturmers, and murdered with blows from the butt ends of muskets and bayonet thrusts. Steiger, who in Grauholz had as by miracle escaped death or imprisonment, was threatened with the same fate; but the aged statesman made good his flight to Germany across the Brünig Pass and Unterwalden.

Bern was crushed to the ground; and with Bern fell the old Confederation. A foreign will now ruled the land. Owing to the narrow particularism which rendered impossible any joint efforts for the defence of the country, owing to the blindness of the aristocratic caste which had estranged the people by its harshness and arrogance, and owing to the shortsightedness of the people themselves, who desired to secure their freedom with the aid of foreign bayonets, Switzerland lost for a long time her independence, was plundered and trodden under foot, suffered, in a word, all the shame and misery which foreign rule commonly brings on a land.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE HELVETIC REPUBLIC ONE AND INDIVISIBLE

When Brune began his advance upon Bern he issued a proclamation in the name of the French government giving solemn guarantees for the security of property, for the political independence and the integrity of the territories of the Swiss; the acts he had to undertake in the name of France should, he said, be dishonoured neither by ambition nor by avarice. Notwithstanding these fine-sounding assurances, the Swiss towns of Bienne, Mühlhausen and Geneva were annexed to France. On April 15th, 1798, 1600 French soldiers, cavalrymen with drawn sabres, infantry and artillery with lighted matches, pressed through the gates of Geneva. A meeting of all the public officials, surrounded by French bayonets and cannon, was forced to agree to the annexation to France. Neuchâtel was for the time being protected from annexation by its union with Prussia, but by the transformation of the Confederation into a unitary State the ancient connection between that town and Switzerland was completely severed, so that Switzerland was robbed of the greater part of her western frontier.

For a time even worse was threatened. Henceforward Switzerland had to obey the least hint given by France. It would have been inconvenient for the latter to have to deal with dozens of governments or with popular assemblies. If, on the other hand, the government were centralised, it would merely be necessary to press on the lever of the machine in order to produce the desired effect. Consequently the Directory adopted the idea of Peter Ochs, that Switzerland should be converted into a unitary State after the French model. In his proposal, Ochs, while still in Paris, drafted a constitution for "The Helvetic Republic One and Indivisible." This composition was printed in French, German, and Italian, and was widely diffused throughout Switzerland. But, after issuing orders to Brune to establish the constitution drafted by Ochs, the Directory subsequently modified its plan. Intending to pave the way for the annexation of Vaud to the French Republic, and of

Valais, and Ticino to the Cisalpine Republic, instructions were sent to Brune to constitute three separate republics out of these regions named. Either intentionally or by inadvertence, Brune regarded this as the expression of a wish for the division of Switzerland in general into three parts, "since a great political machine which was so strongly unified as to be capable of swift and harmonious movement would be a danger to us rather than a service"; and he therefore determined to divide Switzerland into three completely distinct republics, for which he coined the names of the Rhodanic Republic, the Helvetic Republic, and the Republic of Tellgau. On March 16th, 1798, he issued a statute of organisation for the One and Indivisible Rhodanic Republic, which was to comprise French and Italian Switzerland with the Bernese Oberland, was to consist of five Cantons, and was to have its capital at Lausanne. On March 19th followed the statute for the One and Indivisible Helvetic Republic, which was to comprise north-eastern Switzerland, divided into twelve Cantons. The Forest Cantons and the Grisons were for the present to be excused from unity and indivisibility, but were to form a federation of States under the name of the *Tellgau*. The mountain Cantons were thus to be completely separated from their old fellow-confederates; and these latter were to be split up into two pseudo-republics, one of which was speedily to be annexed partly to France and partly to the Cisalpine Republic, while the other was to be ruled from Paris as a puppet—in a word the political annihilation of Switzerland was in contemplation. Such the perspective opened up by the political States created by the French general.

Fortunately Brune's plans of partition encountered general opposition. Even the aristocrats, when they saw that their country was threatened with dismemberment, loudly demanded the unitary constitution of Peter Ochs, regarding this as the lesser of two evils. Ochs and Laharpe exercised their influence with the Directory in the same sense, and procured a return to the original plan for a unified republic. Consequently Brune received counter-orders. On March 22nd the general announced his altered arrangements to the Swiss people, and commanded that delegates from all the Cantons should assemble in Aarau as a provisional capital. He then left Switzerland, as he had been rewarded for the success of his Helvetian campaign by appointment to the supreme command of

the army in Italy, in succession to Bonaparte. His place in Switzerland was taken by Schauenburg, whose task it was, in co-operation with the political commissary Lecarlier, to organise the French overlordship in the conquered land.

The Helvetic constitution of Peter Ochs brought valuable benefits to the Swiss nation, which were incorporated into Swiss life and could not be permanently torn from it. It laid stress upon the unity of the country as the necessary basis of its prosperity. It placed sovereign powers in the totality of the citizens, and declared representative democracy to be the future form of the Swiss State. It made all Swiss equal before the law, and at a single blow abolished all privileges of Canton, class, or person, and all differences between Cantons, "Allies," and "common bailiwicks," between patricians and ordinary citizens, between ruling towns and subject countryfolk. It created for the first time a common Swiss citizenship. It announced that the natural liberty of man was inalienable, being limited only by the freedom of others and by legally established regulations for the general well-being. It announced for the first time in Switzerland unrestricted freedom in matters of faith and conscience, with freedom of religious practice within the limits imposed by the demands of public order. It guaranteed the freedom of the press, the inviolability of private property (that is the duty of the State to pay compensation in the event of forcible dispossession), the incidence of taxation in accordance with property and income, and the right of redemption of all burdens on the land and all servitudes thereon. In all these respects the Helvetic constitution laid the foundation for the modern democratic Switzerland of the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, it was a mere imitation of the actual French constitution, constructed regardless of the nature and of the history of the country for which it was designed. In the political life of a nation it is hardly possible to conceive of a greater leap than that which Switzerland was now expected to make. In place of the complicated ancient federation of States, a rigidly bureaucratic unitary State was of a sudden to be created after a foreign model. The Cantons, with their individual constitutions and governments, were abolished as sovereign States and became mere administrative areas of the unitary State, resembling the French departments. The numerous Cantonal governments were hence-

forward to be replaced by the single Helvetic government; instead of the numerous capital cities and chief towns there was to be one seat of government; in place of the many legislative bodies, one legislature; and one uniform administrative system.

At the head of the Helvetic unitary State there was placed by the constitution, framed after the French model, a "Directory" of five persons, with whom were associated at first four and then six "Ministers." These were for foreign affairs; justice and police; finance, commerce, agriculture, and industry; natural sciences, the arts, and public works; home affairs; war. The Directory and its Ministers ruled Switzerland through hierarchically organised officials. It had its "Prefect" or "Statthalter" in each Canton, its "Subprefect" in each district, its "Agent" in each commune. All officials were appointed by the government, subject to good behaviour, and could at any time be dismissed by the central authority.

The Directory was elected by the legislative councils of the republic. As in France, the legislative authority was entrusted to two councils, the "Great Council" and the "Senate," which were elected indirectly. The active burghers in primary meetings nominated one elector for every hundred burghers. The electors of a Canton, constituting a cantonal electoral body, chose the delegates of the Canton to the Senate and to the Great Council, and also appointed a cantonal "administrative chamber" whose function it was to advise the prefect; finally the cantonal electors appointed a judge from each Canton for the supreme court of justice and elected the members of the cantonal court of justice. The "supreme Helvetic court of justice" stood at the head of the judiciary, presiding over the cantonal and district courts. The Directory nominated the president of the supreme court, and through its prefects appointed the president of the cantonal and district courts.

The subdivision of the unitary State into Cantons, districts, and communes was subject to change at will by the legislative authority. In fact, the division into twenty-two Cantons originally proposed by Peter Ochs was, under French influence, subjected to considerable modification. The detested Bern suffered most of all, not only Vaud and Aargau, but also the Bernese Oberland, being detached from it as separate Cantons. Subsequently the three Forest Cantons, as a punishment for their resistance, were joined with Zug to constitute a single Canton known as *Waldstätten*. Glarus

was united with Gaster, March, Uznach, Rapperswyl, Upper Toggenburg, and Sargans, to form the Canton of *Linth*. Appenzell was united with the town and rural district of St Gall, and with Lower Toggenburg and the Rheinthal, constituted the Canton of *Sentis*. The Freiamt and the county of Baden formed the Canton of *Baden*; the bailiwicks of Ticino formed two Cantons, *Bellinzona* and *Lugano*. As a result of all these alterations there were eighteen Cantons. The inhabitants of the Swiss lowlands adapted themselves for good or for ill to the new constitution and carried out the prescribed elections. On April 12th 1798, 121 deputies from ten Cantons assembled in Aarau for a constituent session. Bodmer of Stäfa, the same man over whose head three years before the executioner's sword had been brandished, opened the session as chairman by right of seniority; and the assembly then divided itself into the two chambers prescribed by the constitution, which formally proclaimed the new republic, and elected the Directory. In these elections, Peter Ochs, who had regarded himself as predestined chief of the Helvetic government, was passed over, to his profound disappointment. The Directory, and the Ministers nominated by that body, were esteemed, and some of them even talented men. But in what painful circumstances did they assume their difficult office! On the one hand, a foreign army occupied the country, and was sucking out its life-blood; on the other hand, a large part of Switzerland refused to recognise the Helvetic government and was preparing to resist that government by force of arms.

The Forest Cantons, almost without exception, had contemplated the fall of Bern unmoved, in the belief that no one would venture to disturb their own freedom, the freedom of the sons of William Tell. All the fiercer was their wrath when they learned that they also were expected to merge themselves into the unitary republic. No longer were they to hold popular assemblies; no longer might they elect *Landammanns* and councillors! Of their ancient self-government nothing was to be left them beyond the empty right of nominating electors in village assemblies; for the rest, laws and taxes were to be imposed on them from Aarau, and they were to allow themselves to be governed by a new variety of bailiff. Moreover, as the Catholic priests explained from their pulpits, the detested "Ochs's booklet" endangered, not liberty alone, but

religion as well, providing as it did freedom of belief and freedom of settlement, so that heretics and infidels were to have the right of establishing themselves among believers. General Schauenburg and Lecarlier fixed a definite term within which the new constitution was to be accepted by the Forest Cantons, but Obwalden alone submitted. In Schwyz everyone was declared outlawed who possessed the "Helvetic booklet." Uri, Nidwalden, Zug, and Glarus followed Schwyz in arming for resistance. The supreme command of the forces of the recalcitrant Cantons was assumed by Alois Reding, an able officer, who had recently returned from the Spanish service; but even in Central Switzerland the particularist spirit rendered a uniform and carefully planned defence impossible.

Schauenburg removed his headquarters to Zurich, which now for the first time made direct acquaintance with the French. A brigade under General Jordy assembled in the Freiamt, and on April 29th advanced against Zug, which capitulated as soon as the French hussars appeared before the town. On the very next day the French occupied Lucerne. A second brigade under General Nouvion advanced on April 30th along both sides of the lake of Zurich, and, after a fiercely contested struggle lasting for seven hours, compelled the men of Glarus, who in conjunction with the Schwyzer dwellers on the lake held the Schwyz frontier at Bäch and Wollerau, to retreat and to submit.

In Schwyz, however, enthusiasm grew with the danger. Wives and daughters dragged cannon up the mountain towards Rotenturm, dug entrenchments, carried despatches, cared for the wounded, and even took part in the actual fighting. Reding distributed the forces of the Canton along the approaches at Arth, at Morgarten, at Schindellegi, and on the Etzel Pass. On May 2nd Schauenburg attacked on several sides with a greatly superior force. Reding successfully defended the pass which from the upper end of the lake of Zurich leads into Schwyz past Schindellegi. But pastor Herzog of Einsiedeln, who had boasted that with his parishioners he would defend to the last drop of blood the pass which leads from the lake to Einsiedeln over the Etzel, abandoned the position without firing a shot. While the French entered Einsiedeln and were busily engaged in plundering this renowned pilgrimage centre, Reding, to avoid being surrounded, was forced to withdraw into the interior, towards Rotenturm. Here, however, the Schwyzers

found that upon their flank the heights of St Josterberg and of Morgarten were occupied by the French, who had made their way to these positions from Hütten and Aegeri. Reding, with two battalions, hurled himself upon the enemy which had already descended from Rotenturm into the plain, and at the point of the bayonet forced the French back over the St Josterberg. A third battalion, reinforced by sharpshooters from Uri and Schwyz, cleared the enemy out of Morgarten further to the south. "Let's club our muskets and make short work of it," said the valiant mountaineers, as they chased the enemy down to Aegeri. Next morning the French attacked the Schwyzer position at Arth along both sides of the lake of Zug, but here also they were unable to force a way through. Yet the hostile ring round Schwyz had been drawn closer and closer; the enemy could easily make good their severe losses, whereas the Schwyzers, with 172 killed and 133 wounded, had already been deprived of one-tenth of their available forces. Reding recognised that further resistance could result only in useless massacre, and therefore, after he had secured a truce from Schauenburg, on May 4th prevailed upon the popular assembly of Schwyz to accept the constitution. The example of Schwyz led the other Forest Cantons to submit.

While in Central Switzerland opposition to the unitary republic was thus at an end, resistance now flamed up in a quarter regarding which Schauenburg had had no anxiety whatever. The Canton of the Valais had already accepted the Helvetic constitution, when news of the rising of inner Switzerland threw a firebrand across the Furka. The men of Goms, the inhabitants of the uppermost portion of the Rhone valley, took up arms, and advanced down the valley, their force growing like an avalanche as they descended. Voluntarily or by compulsion the Middle Valais joined the revolt, which extended as far as Martigny. Lower down the Rhone valley 2000 men of Vaud and French defended themselves with difficulty for a time against the *Landsturm* troops, which now numbered 8000 men; then French reinforcements arrived, and discouragement began to spread through the ranks of the Valaisans. Their army for the most part crumbled away. On May 17th those who had stood their ground were defeated on the Morge river, below Sion, after resisting fiercely for four hours, and Sion was taken by storm and plundered. When the Ticino bailiwicks, without a struggle, but after prolonged

hesitation, had also accepted the unitary constitution, the Helvetic republic had finally attained the extent (apart from the Grisons), which had originally been designed for it in Paris. In the highlands, as in the lowlands, there now stood the trees of liberty decorated with the green, red and yellow colours of the Helvetic republic. The last obstacles in the way of the French military domination were removed; and this now displayed itself in all its naked brutality.

"France is not wealthy enough to liberate Europe gratuitously, it is therefore entitled to indemnify herself from the 'liberated' nations by seizing all the goods of the State, the Church, and the aristocracy." Such was the principle on which the revolutionary rulers on the Seine justified the system of rapine and plunder with which France accompanied her victories in the revolutionary war. Not merely had the conquered countries to feed, clothe, and pay the French armies; they had also to help to fill the French treasuries, arsenals, and magazines; they had even to hand over their art-treasures and rarities for the French museums. In addition there was the arbitrary private spoliation which the soldiers, from private to general, permitted themselves; and there were also, to consume the goods of the conquered, the defalcations of the commissioners, and of the purveyors and receivers who followed the armies like vultures. In 1798, Switzerland had her full measure of these troubles. Immediately after his entry into Bern, Brune laid hands upon the State treasury and upon the public funds. Two million francs were swallowed by the pockets of the general and of his entourage; eight million in specie and eighteen million in good securities were sent to France. Even the three bears from the bear-pit at Bern were sent to Paris. Simultaneously, the treasuries of Fribourg and Solothurn were emptied. From the public magazines and arsenals in Bern alone the French took four hundred cannon and thirty-three thousand muskets; while in the neighbourhood of Bern, according to Brune's own admission, irregular plundering on a vast scale was carried out by the soldiery. Brune sent a Bernese named Jenner to Paris with the eighteen million in securities. There Jenner, an able man of business, by the use of 1,060,000 francs for purposes of corruption, succeeded in securing an agreement, whereby Bern, on payment of a ransom of 2,000,000 in cash, obtained the return of all the securities other than the French. This apparent magnanimity is explained by the fact that it would

have been impossible for France, as an unlawful holder, to realise most of these securities; England, for instance, had sequestrated Bernese securities to the amount of £220,000, and Zurich securities to the amount of £50,500, the sequestration not being removed until after the fall of Napoleon.

Wherever the French came, the public treasuries, arsenals, and magazines were plundered; in Zurich and Lucerne even the treasuries of benevolent institutions were not exempt. Vaud had to pay 700,000 francs to its "liberator." In addition, Lecarlier imposed upon the old ruling families of Bern, Fribourg, Solothurn, Zurich, and Lucerne a war tax of fifteen millions, while the ecclesiastical foundations of Lucerne, St Urban, and Einsiedeln had to pay a million. Those upon whom these contributions were imposed were declared jointly responsible, and twenty patricians from Bern and Solothurn were removed to Hüningen and Strassburg as hostages. But the skilful negotiator Jenner in Paris was able to secure for Bern the privilege of redeeming its share of six millions in the war taxes by the payment of two millions in cash. From the poverty-stricken Upper Valais a contribution of 400,000 francs was extorted; and as, owing to the plundering of Einsiedeln and the flight of the monks, the sum demanded from this monastery was not forthcoming, a contribution of 570,000 francs was imposed upon other monasteries. In addition, the maintenance of the army had to be paid for, as by billeting and requisitions the French threw the whole cost of this on the liberated Helvetians.

All the wealth of the country threatened to disappear in the insatiable maw of France. Three millions in cash were sent from Bern to Toulon to provide Bonaparte with funds for the Egyptian campaign; one and a half millions were despatched to the army in Italy as arrears of pay; yet on December 17th Rouhière, the chief French war-commissioner in Switzerland, was able to write with pride: "We have kept ourselves for more than eight months; the cavalry has been remounted; the whole army has been fed, clothed, and paid, without the French Republic having had to disburse a centime." The most shameless extortioner and oppressor was Lecarlier's successor, the government commissary Rapinat, Reubel's brother-in-law, concerning whom a French officer composed the couplet:

> La pauvre Suisse qu'on ruine, voudrait bien que l'on décidât,
> Si Rapinat vient de rapine ou rapine de Rapinat.

The Helvetic Directory having aroused Rapinat's anger by its complaints, the commissioner on June 16th forced two of the members to resign, nominating in their stead "les citoyens" Ochs and Dolder, both being pliable tools of France. At the same time a decree issued by Rapinat and Schauenburg declared null and void all resolutions of the Swiss authorities which were opposed to the orders of the commissioner or of the commander-in-chief, and threatened to shoot by court-martial any one who should venture to work counter to the French *agents* or to utter complaints and grievances against them in the newspapers. The brutal fact of the enslavement of Switzerland was so nakedly displayed by these decrees, that the French Directory thought it advisable to annul them, and to invite the Helvetic councils to fill the vacant posts on their own initiative. On June 29th, however, the alarmed Helvetians elected Ochs, and even believed themselves to have gained a point when they associated with him Laharpe in the place of Dolder, expecting that Laharpe's appointment would be agreeable to France, but that he would have the interests of the country more at heart than the creature of Rapinat. Thus the two prime initiators of the invasion now stood at the head of the Helvetic republic. On August 19th, 1798, the latter was forced to conclude with France a perpetual offensive alliance, whereby Helvetia was pledged to furnish auxiliary troops to France in all wars in which the latter should be engaged, and to allow free passage to the French armies. There was no question of negotiation. The completed treaty was handed to the Swiss envoy in Paris with the words: "Sign or prepare for annexation!"

Amid all the misery which foreign domination brought upon Switzerland, the best intelligences of the country devoted themselves to the task of building up a new Swiss State, which would, they believed, endow the fatherland with energy, enabling it in course of time to regain its lost independence; they hoped that this new State would provide for Swiss welfare more efficiently than had been possible for the cantonal constitutions with their obsolete institutions. Through Rapinat's *coup d'état*, the Helvetian Directory had been changed for the worse. Peter Ochs, notwithstanding his manifold talents, played a part in the government which was little more than that of a French spy. Laharpe was vigorous, energetic, and unselfish, but he lacked organising capacity, and shared

with Ochs an inclination to partisan despotism. The leading statesmen of the Helvetic republic were two of the "ministers," Albert Rengger and Philipp Stapfer, both of Brugg in Aargau. Rengger, as minister of the interior, displayed unwearying activity in the endeavour to realise the fruitful ideas of the new constitution. Stapfer, minister of education, directed the whole of his thoughts and actions to securing for Switzerland an exemplary system of public teaching.

Higher education and business experience had hitherto been found almost exclusively among the bourgeoisie of the capitals; but this class, owing to its aristocratic inclinations, was now practically excluded from the elections. The result was that the two Helvetic councils constituted mainly an uneducated peasant parliament. None the less, this first Swiss parliament contained among its members men who would have been an ornament to any representative body, such as the two Zurichers, Hans Conrad Escher, the originator of the Linth canal, and his friend Paul Usteri. Many of its determinations are landmarks in the social development of the country. On May 4th, 1798, by the abolition of the personal feudal dues, it removed the last trace of serfdom in Switzerland. On May 12th torture was abolished; and subsequently all corporal punishment was prohibited. A unified penal code was introduced, in imitation of the French *Code pênal* of 1791, but one in which the punishment of death was inflicted solely by decapitation, without the wheel and the gallows, and without the other aggravations beloved of the old criminal law; by its prohibition of the confiscation of property and its system of well-considered terms of imprisonment, an enormous advance was effected in comparison with the penal methods which had hitherto prevailed in Switzerland. The government also determined to compile a unified civil code, but this was never completed. It created a uniform system of coinage, based upon the Swiss franc (= $1\frac{1}{2}$ French francs); but, owing to the poverty of the republic, it was impossible to call in and melt down the coins hitherto current. The postal service, which had varied in different Cantons, being sometimes a family monopoly, sometimes a private commercial undertaking, and sometimes farmed out by the authorities to private individuals, was now centralised in the hands of the State. On October 19th, 1798, a significant decree was issued, abolishing the

coercion exercised by the guilds and corporations, and establishing full liberty in the case of all industrial occupations. Excellent communal laws regulated the relations between those who had hitherto been village burghers and the "dwellers," who had received Swiss civic rights, and secured for every Swiss citizen complete freedom of settlement and of trade throughout the country.

All punishments on account of religious and sectarian views were abolished. The coercive authority hitherto exercised by the Church fell to the ground. The Helvetic Republic, as a modern State, claimed sovereign legal powers in its own domain, and would tolerate no auxiliary or superior ecclesiastical authorities. This was manifested by the abolition of ecclesiastical privileges, and by the removal of the prohibition of mixed marriages, a removal effected regardless of the directions of the Church; while other arbitrary hindrances to marriage were abolished. In accordance with the spirit of the time, an attempt was also made to render the property of the 133 monasteries and other religious foundations gradually available for social and educational purposes. The councils determined upon the principle of the abolition of the monasteries, prohibiting the acceptance of novices, and placing the property of these institutions under secular administration as a national possession; all income over and above what was needed for the subsistence of the inmates was to be utilised to the best advantage in the support of schools and almshouses. In other respects, the Helvetic republic was by no means hostile to the Church. It solemnly pledged itself to make up the deficit which the abolition of tithes had produced in the maintenance of the clergy, and to care for the existing cantonal churches.

Especial stress was laid upon the educational system. Stapfer, minister of education, summoned to his councils the two leading educational authorities of Switzerland, Pestalozzi and Father Girard of Fribourg, and appointed in every canton a Council of Education (*Erziehungsrat*), an institution which survived the fall of the Helvetic Republic. He compiled an admirable educational law which could in many respects serve as an example even to-day. Not only do we find in Stapfer's proposal all the recognised principles of the modern school system, but in addition many of the most advanced ideas of modern pedagogy, such as manual instruction for boys, and household instruction for girls, regular medical

examination of school children and inspection of school buildings, practical support for poor children, and so on. In the larger communes, industrial schools were to be associated with the elementary schools; there were also to be institutes for higher education; and finally, as crown of the whole system, a Swiss High School was to be built up, which Stapfer hoped to bring into existence as a combination of university and technical high school. Stapfer recognised very clearly that the immediate realisation of his grand design was impossible; but he believed that without extensive financial sacrifices on the part of the State this high school could be constituted by the simple amalgamation of the academies, lycées, etc., dispersed throughout the towns, whereby a great united whole could be called into existence. Stapfer's ideas, however, were so much in advance of the age that the Helvetian councils rejected his laws and proposals as too adventurous. What was actually effected in the way of improving the educational system was wholly due to Stapfer and his councils of education, the latter vigorously endeavouring to effect advances to the extent that was possible in view of the poverty of the time and the ignorance of the people. It was also an imperishable glory to the Helvetic government that in the orphanage at Stanz and in the castle at Burgdorf spheres of activity were opened for Pestalozzi, enabling him to give actual demonstration of the practicability of his ideas. It was also upon Stapfer's initiative that the Helvetic government undertook the preservation of Swiss antiquities and artistic monuments. He wished to found a national museum in Lucerne to save these from destruction or removal to foreign lands. A national library and national archives were also instituted.

Thus in the Helvetic Republic we see in all directions promising beginnings which fail to attain to any goal, fruitful ideas whose seeds do not ripen. With the best will in the world it was impossible for the statesmen of the Helvetic Republic to effect much of permanent value, simply because the necessary funds were lacking. Not only had all the treasuries been plundered by the French, but the new Helvetic Republic voluntarily deprived itself of its principal sources of income. Notwithstanding the warnings of the farsighted, the Helvetic peasant parliament abolished all tithes, ground-rents, and other feudal dues, in part without any compensation at all, and in part for sums so trifling that the State practically

secured nothing in return. On the other hand, a great number of hitherto unknown taxes were imposed, and in view of the extortions of the French, and of the general poverty which soon resulted from the war, the regular collection of these taxes was not to be thought of. Consequently the Helvetic government was from the first in sad need of money, and was unable to pay regularly its officials, soldiers, clergy, and teachers. It was due solely to the exceptional care with which the small available funds were administered by Finsler of Zurich, the minister of finance, and by Rengger, the minister of the interior, that in such circumstances political order could still be maintained in Switzerland. Ultimately the authorities of the Helvetic Republic could see no other way than to retrace their steps. On September 15th, 1800, the law by which tithes had been redeemed was repealed, and tithes, ground-rents, and feudal dues were reintroduced. Thus the Helvetic Republic gave merely the first impulse to the great work of liberating the soil, the completion of this work being left for a later time.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SWITZERLAND AS THE THEATRE OF EUROPEAN WAR

HARDLY had the French established themselves in Switzerland when rumours of a new coalition war began to circulate through the world. Austria, who on October 17th, 1797, had concluded with France the peace of Campo Formio, had quietly accepted the great shifting of political power which resulted from the simultaneous occupation of Switzerland and of the States of the Church by the French; and Baron Thugut, the leading minister of the Emperor Francis, was prepared to leave them in undisturbed enjoyment of their new conquests if only they were willing to allow to Austria a corresponding increase of territory in Italy. It was not until proposals to this effect had been rejected by the French Directory that the court of Vienna determined to resume the war; but after his earlier experiences Thugut would not take action without the armed help of Russia and the pecuniary support of England. On July 17th, 1798, the Tsar gave Austria a written promise to co-operate, but the negotiations with England were protracted.

From the first, however, England and Austria were agreed that the expulsion of the French from Switzerland must be a principal aim of the war, and both governments therefore entered into negotiations with a number of Swiss refugees, whose leader was the aged Steiger, the former mayor. In accordance with the conversations with Steiger, the Austrians now assembled 10,000 men on the eastern frontier of Switzerland, commanded by Lieutenant-general Hotze, a native of Richterswyl on the lake of Zurich, who in conjunction with the refugees was making preparations for a popular rising in Switzerland. Secret emissaries, of whom Paul Styger of Schwyz, a Capuchin, was one of the most active leaders, disguised as workmen and pedlars, went all over Switzerland establishing communications with the discontented.

The first outcome of these intrigues was a premature revolt in Nidwalden. Nowhere had the seeds of excitement from over the

border fallen upon such fruitful soil as in Catholic Central Switzerland, where everything effected by the Helvetic authorities, good and evil alike, served only to increase the ancient hatred against the unitary republic forcibly imposed upon the inhabitants. On July 12th, 1798, the Helvetic council determined to exact from laymen and clergy the oath as citizens demanded by the constitution. A portion of the Catholic clergy eagerly seized this opportunity of taking vengence on the Helvetic government for the abolition of the monasteries and of their privileged exemption from taxes. Priests and monks refused to take the oath, and, relying on the definite assurances of the imperial generals on the frontier, the priests of Nidwalden and Schwyz incited the people to direct revolt. The Helvetic officials had to take to flight. In understanding with the Helvetic Directory, General Schauenburg fixed a certain time in which the rebels had to obey. Before it was too late the Schwyzers recognised that they could not count upon Austrian help, and submitted. Unfortunately for Nidwalden, the priests here had less foresight, and trusting in Austria they urged their flocks to desperate resistance.

Thugut was not the man to begin the war a moment earlier than he thought fit, simply for the sake of a few mountain villages. Since he had not yet come to terms with England, Nidwalden was sacrificed. Twelve thousand Frenchmen under Schauenburg encircled the valley, which could raise barely 2000 men for its defence. The general attack from the lake and Obwalden took place on September 9th, 1798. Every foot of land had to be wrested forcibly from the Nidwaldeners. This obstinate resistance, in which the women took part, incited the French to perpetrate indescribable horrors. In the evening the valley was simply a heap of ruins; there were 400 dead, and of these 102 were women and 25 children; 712 buildings had been burned. The Helvetic parliament had the audacity to pass a resolution to the effect that Schauenburg and his army had deserved well of the Helvetic Republic. The Helvetic government did better work when, on the suggestion of Stapfer, the motherless orphans were handed over to the care of the good Pestalozzi. At the same time the Helvetic government was transferred from Aarau to Lucerne, which on account of its central position was now selected as capital of the unitary republic.

While the court of Vienna allowed Nidwalden to bleed unaided,

it was resolved not to permit the Grisons, with its important passes, to fall into the hands of France. In consideration of the slight relations that existed between the Grisons and the Confederation, the French had merely invited the Grisons to join the Helvetic Republic, but without exercising any constraint. A fierce party struggle had broken out in the Grisons about the matter. Of sixty-three communes, eleven only desired to join the Republic; and in Chur people tied the Helvetic cockades to the tails of their dogs. But for fear of a French attack an appeal for protection was made to the Emperor. During the night of October 18th–19th, 1798, the Austrian battalions, coming from the Vorarlberg, crossed the Luzisteig and occupied Chur.

France did not immediately accept the challenge. It was not until preparations on both sides had lasted throughout the winter that the declaration of war at length took place, on March 1st, 1799. Whereas in South Germany and in Italy the hostile armies were still separated by considerable distances, in the Swiss Rheinthal they were already in close contact. Masséna, who had replaced Schauenburg, was in command of the French army, with a force of 33,000 French soldiers who were to be joined by 20,000 Swiss militiamen. Opposed to him in the Vorarlberg and the Grisons was Hotze, with 26,000 regular troops, a contingent from the Vorarlberg, and the Grisons *Landsturm*, while further back, in Tirol, was General Bellegarde with 47,000 men. On March 6th, Masséna opened hostilities with that mingled caution and impetuosity characteristic of the man. His columns crossed the Rhine at three separate points, at Feldkirch and to the north and to the south of the Luzisteig Pass, and yet another body of troops pressed over the mountains into the Grisons. While he held Hotze in check at Feldkirch, his soldiers stormed the Luzisteig, surrounded the imperial general Auffenberg who commanded at Chur, and compelled him to capitulate on March 7th. These battles cost the Austrians 5000 men killed or taken prisoners, and 16 guns. The Grisons was now compelled to join the Helvetic Republic.

Count Bellegarde endeavoured to reconquer the Grisons from the Tirolese side; but Masséna despatched against the Austrian his most capable subordinate, Lecourbe, with 7000 men, who drove the enemy out of the Engadine. To support Lecourbe, General Dessoles led 5000 men from Italy through the Valtelline.

On March 25th Dessoles annihilated an Austrian corps at Taufers in the Münsterthal; and on the same day Lecourbe defeated another corps at Martinsbrück and Nauders. By their daring and their mobility 12,000 Frenchmen had inflicted upon Bellegarde's army, four times as strong as their own, a loss of 12,000 in killed, wounded and prisoners, and had opened the way into Tirol.

But disasters to the French arms elsewhere brought Masséna's brilliant advance to a sudden close. On this very March 25th, Jourdan, at Stockach, to the north of lake Constance, was defeated by the Archduke Charles, commanding a force twice as strong as the French, and was obliged to retreat across the Rhine into Alsace. In northern Italy, on April 8th, the battle of Magnano likewise ended in a French defeat. Thus South Germany was cleared of the French invaders, while Lombardy lay open to the Austrians. In Switzerland only was Masséna unconquered, threatening the Austrians on the flank both in Germany and in Italy, but himself in great danger of being crushed between the superior forces of the enemy. If the Archduke Charles had, after his victory at Stockach, immediately crossed the Rhine between Constance and Schaffhausen, and if simultaneously Hotze and Bellegarde had undertaken a vigorous attack from the east, Masséna would, according to his own judgment, have been lost. The Archduke had already sent orders to Hotze and Bellegarde when, like a thunderclap, came instructions from Vienna directing him to refrain from the attack upon Switzerland. Thugut, mistrusting Prussia, desired that the main body of the Austrian army should not leave Germany. The Archduke Charles became ill from vexation; and his army remained throughout April in its quarters northward of the Rhine.

Meanwhile all the forces on the Rhine from the St Gotthard to Düsseldorf had been placed by the French Directory under the supreme command of Masséna, who did not lose a day in concentrating as much of his strength as possible at the threatened spot. By the beginning of May he had assembled about 70,000 men in Switzerland. Consequently a popular rising, which the Swiss émigrés with the aid of English money plotted in April and May, 1799, proved harmless to the French, although it affected almost the whole of Switzerland, from the Canton of Appenzell to the valleys of the Bernese Oberland and of the Canton of Fribourg, and from Solothurn to Lugano. It was only in Uri, the Upper Valais, and the

Grisons that sanguinary fighting ensued; and the Upper Valais on this occasion suffered a fate similar to that which in the previous year had overtaken Nidwalden. Ochs and Laharpe believed that the tottering unitary republic could be maintained in no other way than by a system of terrorisation. Death was threatened for any opposition to the government. The prisons everywhere were packed with rebels; courts-martial were established; and in the Cantons of Fribourg, Solothurn, and Lucerne these passed sentences of death, several of which were carried out. The most highly respected members of the Swiss opposition were arrested, and without trial were carried off as hostages and confined in French fortresses.

The rising in the Grisons was especially dangerous to the French, for it coincided with the renewed attack of the Austrians upon this region. While Bellegarde drove Lecourbe out of the Engadine and Hotze undertook an attack from the Vorarlberg upon the Luzisteig, on May 1st a revolt broke out in Disentis, whence the *Landsturm* rushed down towards Chur. But Hotze's attack upon the Luzisteig was repulsed, while simultaneously the French dispersed the Grisons *Landsturm* above Chur by artillery fire and cavalry charges and in revenge for their losses burned the village and monastery of Disentis.

A fortnight later Hotze renewed the attack on the Luzisteig, and this time met with better success. Consequently the Grisons was lost to the French, especially since Lecourbe had withdrawn over the San Bernardino Pass to Bellinzona, in order to defend the St Gotthard road against the Austrians, who were advancing from Lombardy. He gave way only step by step in face of a superior force, until Masséna sent orders that he should abandon the St Gotthard and Uri, and get into touch with the main army, now seriously threatened.

Meanwhile Thugut had determined to give a free hand to the Archduke Charles, who was attacking in conjunction with Hotze. With 24,000 men, Hotze advanced from the Grisons and the Vorarlberg towards Weesen and St Gall. On May 21st–23rd, the Archduke, with a force of 40,000 men, crossed the Rhine at Constance, Stein, Diessenhofen and Büsingen. To resist this combined attack from the east and the north, Masséna had at his disposal a force of no more than 40,000 men, for he was using a portion of his army to protect the Rhine from Waldshut to Basel,

while other detachments had been sent to the Central Cantons and to Valais. He recognised that he was not in a position to hold the long line of the Rhine, and sacrificed his position here, entrusting its defence to the Helvetic militia, which, badly organised, inadequately armed and clothed and lacking all necessaries, for the most part ran away at the first shot. But the French commander would not allow the Archduke and Hotze to effect a junction undisturbed. In fierce skirmishes at Andelfingen and Frauenfeld, in which Ney, Oudinot, and Soult (subsequently marshals under the French Empire) distinguished themselves, he repulsed the Austrians on May 25th. At Frauenfeld, the Helvetic troops vied with the French in point of bravery; their leader was Adjutant-General Weber von Brüttelen, the same who had led the Bernese militia in the fight at Neueneck and who here found a glorious death as comrade-in-arms of the French. Masséna, however, did not secure a decisive success. He doubted the possibility of preventing the junction of the two opposing armies, and therefore, fighting continuous rearguard actions, he concentrated his army upon Zurich, in the neighbourhood of Winterthur, near Rorbas and Embrach. Foreseeing an attack by a superior force, he had transformed Zurich into a great fortress, constructing a widely extended semicircle of entrenchments and barricades on the hills to the south-east, east, and north of the town. On June 4th, the Archduke Charles undertook a general assault along the whole line. In this first battle of Zurich the French maintained their positions with difficulty; and Masséna lost hope of being able to hold his ground against a renewed attack, while a retreat through the narrow streets and across the only bridge, in the midst of a conflict, might readily prove disastrous. Consequently he voluntarily withdrew to the steep heights of the Uetliberg; and the Austrians entered Zurich on June 6th.

With the taking of Zurich Switzerland was divided into two. The eastern section, the Grisons, the Tessin, Uri, Schwyz, Glarus—all the territory eastward of the lake of Zurich, the Limmat and the lower course of the Aar—was now in the hands of the Austrians, while the French still held the west of the country. The authority of the Helvetic government reached only so far as the French bayonets, and had no existence where the Austrians were in possession. On May 31st the Directory, the Councils and the

supreme court of justice were removed from Lucerne, where Masséna could no longer guarantee their safety, to Bern, which henceforward remained the seat of the Helvetic government until the close of the unitary republic. The Swiss refugees had returned with the imperial troops, and at their head was the mayor Nicholas Steiger. Unfortunately he could see no hope for his native land except in the unconditional restoration of the old order of things. All the concessions which at the last moment the old governments had made to their subjects were to be regarded as null and void, "because effected in time of revolution"; the entire year 1798 was to be simply erased from history; even the "common bailiwicks" were to be re-established; and the chief offenders in the work of revolution were to be punished. In Appenzell and Glarus, the popular assemblies actually revived the ancient constitutions. The prince-abbot Pankraz Vorster made a ceremonial entry into St Gall, and annulled all the concessions made by himself or his predecessor Beda. In Thurgau the ecclesiastical and temporal sovereigns resumed their rights. According to the Swiss émigrés, in every village which passed from the hands of the French to those of the imperial forces, the "legitimate" state of affairs which had existed before the outbreak of the revolution was to be re-established. But Steiger did not receive from the Austrians the desired support. Thugut, who wished to detach the Valtelline and the Tessin from Switzerland, preferred for the nonce to leave conditions in a state of flux; and Archduke Charles had all the more reason for preferring to avoid intervention in Swiss politics because the straightforward Hotze, the Swiss to whom above all his confidence was given, by no means shared the fanaticism of the Swiss émigrés. In consequence of the Archduke's attitude, and to the distress of the émigrés, the old town government in Zurich was not restored, but an "interim government" of townsmen and countrymen was provisionally set up.

The support which Archduke Charles refused to the émigrés was secured by them from the English envoy, William Wickham, who had returned with them to Switzerland. The British cabinet honestly desired the independence of Switzerland, but, being ill-informed regarding local conditions, believed that the re-establishment of the old forms of government was the essential condition. Hence, Wickham zealously favoured the full restoration of the former con-

ditions and governments. But, welcome as this was to the sometime sovereign States and territories, the idea aroused a corresponding alarm in the minds of the sometime subjects, who to the return of their former masters, full of arrogance and revenge, and the consequent loss of their dearly-bought equality before the law, preferred the return of the French. The representations of the émigrés had led the Allies to expect that, so soon as they entered Switzerland, the inhabitants would rise like one man, and would furnish from 15,000 to 18,000 volunteers, more especially since England was prepared to pay all expenses. Now, with great difficulty, 3400 volunteers were got together, whereas Masséna had still 5000 Swiss in the ranks of his army. It is comprehensible enough that the Swiss people should exhibit just as little enthusiasm for the Allies, who were bringing back the detested dominion of the towns and the monks in the name of national independence, as for the French who plundered them in the name of liberty and equality.

It happened by the irony of fate that, to all appearance, it was the complaints of the Swiss émigrés and of Wickham concerning the conduct of the imperial commander-in-chief that started the new plan of campaign which was to turn the fortune of war in favour of the French. The British cabinet, suspicious of Austria's intentions as to Switzerland, proposed to collect an army composed exclusively of Russian troops, under the command of Suvóroff. Tsar Paul eagerly adopted the plan; and Thugut offered no opposition, since he was glad to send the Archduke's army back to Germany. Korsakoff at first advanced from Germany with 28,000 Russians, in order to relieve Archduke Charles at Zurich. An attempt by the Archduke to utilise the arrival of the Russians for an attack upon Masséna with a superior force was frustrated by the bravery with which, on August 17th, the French, supported by Swiss sharpshooters, prevented an attempt of the imperial troops to throw a bridge across the lower Aar at Döttingen, which was to enable them to surround Masséna's position. Korsakoff's obstinacy and quarrelsomeness now actually led the Archduke to withdraw from Switzerland with his army, leaving Hotze with 25,000 men to hold the Grisons and the line of the Linth until Suvóroff should arrive, whilst Korsakoff with his Russians occupied the region from the lake of Zurich to the Rhine along the Limmat and the Aar.

Immediately before the Archduke's withdrawal, Masséna once

more displayed how formidable he was. In a carefully planned and brilliantly executed attack from August 13th to 16th the left wing of his forces under Lecourbe drove the Austrians out of Schwyz, Uri and the Upper Valais. In this four days' battle in the mountains, in which the imperial forces lost 8000 in killed and wounded, the French gained possession of the St Gotthard with all its Alpine defiles. Notwithstanding this, Suvóroff selected this particular pass for the movement of his Russians from Italy into Switzerland, although he could have made his way to Zurich over the Grisons passes without striking a blow. His grandly conceived plan, discussed with Hotze and Korsakoff, was that the three commanders should simultaneously attack and defeat Masséna, then effecting a junction of their armies upon the battlefield. This plan had only one defect—the assumption that Masséna would remain on the defensive; and it overlooked the possibility that the French general might fall upon Korsakoff and Hotze before Suvóroff could get into touch with them. Such was, as a matter of fact, the strategy adopted by Masséna.

Hotze and Korsakoff prepared for an attack on September 26th, but Masséna was a day in advance. Against Korsakoff he had 36,000 men under his personal leadership; whereas, for the simultaneous attack upon Hotze on the Linth, Soult had 11,000 men at his disposal. While on September 25th the Russians were kept busy by Masséna's frontal attack to the south-west of Zurich, a force of 16,000 French effected an admirably planned passage across the Limmat below Zurich at Dietlikon, and threatened Korsakoff's rear, so that by the evening the Russian forces in Zurich were practically surrounded. On the following morning Masséna, who had meanwhile received disquieting intelligence from Lecourbe, seems to have deliberately left the road of retreat open for a time to Korsakoff, so that he could withdraw with the bulk of his army across the Rhine into Germany. But the French fell upon his rearguard and completed his defeat, so that 5000 in killed and prisoners, 10 colours, 20 guns, and a part of the war-chest, were abandoned by the Russians at Zurich.

The Austrian forces on the Linth had fared no better. Early in the morning of the 25th Soult crossed the river at three points. Hotze, who hastened to the threatened region, was killed at Schänis by one of the first shots. The death of their brave leader demoralised

the Austrians. With a loss of 4000 in killed and prisoners, 20 field-pieces, and the war-fleet on the lake of Zurich carrying 13 guns, they fled in disorder to St Gall, and thence across the Rhine.

By his brilliant double victory at Zurich and on the Linth, Masséna had now cleared the enemy out of the whole of north-eastern Switzerland. It was high time. On September 24th Suvóroff, with 18,500 men, had begun his march over the St Gotthard (6936 feet), while 7000 Russians went round by the Lukmanier and Oberalp passes, and a force of 2000 Austrians set out from the Grisons towards the Krüzli Pass, in order to fall upon the French flank by way of the Maderanerthal in Uri. Opposed to the 27,000 Russians and Austrians there were on the St Gotthard and the upper Reuss valley barely 8000 Frenchmen under Lecourbe, who at first had no idea of the strength of his opponents. But he displayed admirable presence of mind, and offered the most vigorous resistance to Suvóroff. The encounter began just above Airolo, and the Russians had to fight every step of their way along the St Gotthard path, defended by its rock walls, through the Urnerloch and across the Devil's bridge. When Suvóroff, after three days' fighting, at length reached Altdorf, the obstacles to his advance on Schwyz, where he wished to get into touch with Hotze, proved even greater than he had anticipated from the reports of the Austrian officers on his staff. The dangerous footpath which then led from Flüelen along the cliffs of the Axenberg and past Morschach could be defended by a handful of the French; and Lecourbe had taken care to dispose safely of all boats and other material which might have served for transport over the lake. Consequently on September 27th Suvóroff determined to take the difficult, but safe, mountain route which leads from the Schächenthal over the Kinzigkulm Pass (6811 feet) into the Muottathal. Three days had passed before, on the evening of the 29th, the whole army with its 6000 Cossack horses and mules had made its way into the Muottathal. But here Suvóroff encountered, not, as he had expected, the Austrians, but the enemy himself; and, at the same time, he received intelligence that the two armies with whose co-operation he had proposed to surround Masséna, had been defeated and driven from the field. His plan was completely ruined, and it was a question whether it would still be possible for him to make a way with his forces out of this mountain labyrinth. In the Muottathal he was already shut in on both sides.

General Molitor, who in Glarus had successfully defended himself against the Austrian attacks, blocked the Prägel Pass and the Klönthal with his forces, while Masséna, after the receipt of the alarming intelligence from Lecourbe, having gained his victory at Zurich, had led one of his divisions by forced marches to Schwyz. But the trapped Suvóroff was like a lion at bay, who, with teeth and claws, fights furiously, destroying everything to the right and the left. While his advance-guard drove Molitor's battalion out of the Klönthal, his rearguard, on October 1st, attacked the advancing forces of Masséna in the narrow Muottathal, and drove them back with heavy loss, so that they no longer ventured to interfere with his retreat across the Prägel Pass (5099 feet) into the Klönthal. Before the superior force of the Russians Molitor had to withdraw to Mollis and Näfels; and even these two villages fell into Russian hands. Molitor's position had now become extremely dangerous; but reinforcements arrived, and among these a Swiss half-brigade, which stormed the Näfels bridge with a valour admitted even by the French. The Russians were forced back and the French remained masters of the routes out of the valley of Glarus.

Like a swollen torrent, Suvóroff in his march from the St Gotthard to Glarus had overcome every obstacle. Now his passage was arrested by the weak detachment under Molitor. He did not venture to repeat the attempt to force his way through to Weesen and Sargans, being influenced, it seems, by consideration for his companion the grand duke Constantine, a lad of nineteen, who had completely lost heart. He determined to withdraw by the only route left open, across the Panixer Pass (7897 feet) into the Grisons. In the night of October 4th–5th, the Russians began their retreat to Elm, pursued by the indefatigable Molitor. On October 6th and the following days, they made their way across the rocky pass, at a height of nearly 8000 feet. This pass, in any case a laborious one, had been made almost impracticable by a recent heavy fall of snow. The remnant of the mountain guns had to be thrown over the precipices; hundreds of soldiers were frozen to death during the nights spent upon the icy heights; and innumerable animals perished. By October 10th the retreating Russian army had again made its way into the Grisons portion of the Rheinthal, but in a deplorable condition. Suvóroff estimated the remaining strength of his fighting force at 10,000. On October 12th he advanced to Feldkirch. Filled

with bitterness against the Austrians, to whose cowardice and treachery he attributed all his misfortunes, he refused to take any further part in the operations. Separating himself with Korsakoff completely from the Allies, he took up winter quarters far from the enemy. On October 22nd Tsar Paul wrote to the Emperor Francis renouncing entirely his alliance with Austria. The coalition against France was dissolved. The battle of Zurich had proved decisive for the whole campaign.

In 1799 Switzerland was in a remarkable situation, in that the country was not regarded as an enemy by any one of the three powers carrying on war upon its soil. Though the Helvetic Republic employed the small force at its disposal on the side of the French, on the other hand the regiments of the "legitimist" confederation fought for the Allies. England and Austria were agreed that Switzerland was to be regarded as a friendly country which they were engaged in liberating; and the conduct of the Archduke Charles had consequently been characterised by the most humane consideration. Property, alike public and private, was left intact by the Austrians; they lived upon their own stores, or paid for what they requisitioned; only billets, guides and work in the construction of trenches, were demanded from the inhabitants as indispensable. In the case of the Russian army, indeed, discipline and the commissariat were so defective that the soldiers practised private pillage; but at least Korsakoff and Suvóroff did not impose any contributions on the country. The least considerate of all were the French, the official allies of Switzerland, for they, in defiance of the terms of the alliance, demanded from Switzerland the entire support of their 70,000 men and 10,000 horses; and further, their system of requisition being grossly defective, they wastefully expended twice as much as was necessary. After his victory, Masséna extorted from Zurich a forced loan of 800,000 francs, from St Gall one of 300,000 francs, and from Basel one of 1,400,000 francs, in order to replenish his war-chest with the money of his Swiss allies. The nominal existence of friendly relations between the Swiss and the French enforced a certain degree of considerateness even upon the latter; yet the French armies fighting in Switzerland brought indescribable misery upon the unhappy land.

The region from Schaffhausen to the St Gotthard had been transformed, in effect, into one gigantic battlefield. Many hitherto

flourishing regions had been ruined; and Zurich had escaped destruction almost as if by a miracle. Seed-crops, orchards, vineyards and forests had been destroyed far and wide; bridges, great and small, had been burned, the stables laid waste, stores of fodder consumed. In the Canton of Zurich, the population of which then numbered 166,000, the costs of the war were reckoned at 16,000,000 Swiss francs; in the Canton of Thurgau, with a population of 80,000, at 7,000,000; in the Canton of Linth, with a population of 78,000, at 11,000,000. Perrochel, the French ambassador, wrote to his government:

> Even the most prosperous Cantons are suffering from the burden of billeting, from the cost of maintaining soldiers and horses; everywhere there is a scarcity of fodder; everywhere the cattle are being slaughtered. The draught-horses have perished, so that there are none left to carry on agricultural labours.

In the mountains, the distress and misery were even greater. There almost everything had been devoured. Down to October 16th the little Urseren Valley had had to furnish 631,700 daily billeting allowances; two-thirds of the milch-cows had been killed, all the pack-horses and mountain oxen were gone, two hundred stables and herdsmen's huts had been destroyed. In Uri, Schwyz and Glarus, poverty equally desperate prevailed. Men of Schwyz and Glarus, who had formerly been chief magistrates or councillors, were begging alms in Schaffhausen for shirts and shoes. In the Upper Valais, a district forty miles long had been laid utterly waste, and 2700 buildings had been burned. Had it not been for active assistance, furnished in numerous ways by private charity, to which the excellent Minister Rengger and his officials appealed, thousands would simply have died of starvation. Notwithstanding the general poverty, waggon-loads and ship-loads of provisions, clothing, bedding, and household furniture were despatched to the Cantons where need was greatest. From the mountain Cantons, thousands of children were sent to the towns, to be cared for by kindly families, and thus to be saved from dying of starvation.

CHAPTER XXIX

COUPS D'ÉTAT AND MEDIATION

The victory of the French re-established the unitary republic everywhere; but the general poverty throughout the country formed a complaint against the government which was like a gigantic act of indictment. In the eyes of the masses of the Swiss population the republic had been tried and found guilty. The Helvetic authorities themselves contributed to disturb and destroy the new order of the State. Ochs and Laharpe had quarrelled, and Laharpe took advantage of the fact that Ochs had betrayed governmental secrets to the French envoy to put before him the alternative of a public accusation or a voluntary resignation. Ochs preferred the latter, and withdrew from the political stage. Laharpe planned new arbitrary acts, after the Jacobin model, for the rescue of the republic, and since strong opposition was manifested in the councils against his despotic proceedings, he wished to overcome this opposition by a *coup d'état* like that of Bonaparte and to make himself dictator. But his opponents in the councils were beforehand; and on January 7th, 1800, the dissolution of the Directory was voted. Since the First Consul in Paris agreed to the overthrow of the Helvetic government, and since Laharpe's appeal to the French commander in Bern for protection against "the partisans of Austria" proved vain, Laharpe and his associates were forced to yield.

For the moderates in the Helvetic parliament the overthrow of Laharpe had been an act of necessity, but they made a serious mistake when, instead of electing a new Directory, they proceeded to replace this body by a provisional government, an executive committee of seven members, and thus tampered with the constitution before it had been replaced by another. To deprive the country of its constitution was to hand it over to anarchy, to the reign of chance; it was to inflict a deadly wound upon respect for law and justice. With the *coup d'état* of January 7th, 1800, there began for Switzerland a three years' period of hopeless internal confusion, in

which the country vainly endeavoured to discover by its own energies a new and lawful form of existence, until at length such a form had once again to be provided by a foreign hand. The attempt was made to establish a better constitution than that of Peter Ochs; but in the Helvetic councils opinions concerning details were so widely divergent that it was especially the best and most intelligent members who doubted the possibility of securing a reasonable constitution through the work of these councils. The consequence was that the executive committee, in conjunction with the moderates in the councils, conceived the unhappy idea of overcoming the difficulty by force. The worst feature of the plan was that the permission of France was once more requisite. The First Consul empowered his envoy in Bern to co-operate in the scheme. On August 7th, 1800, the executive committee issued an imperious order to the councils that, in view of their incapacity and of the useless expense which their continuance involved, they should dissolve themselves, and hand over the work of legislation to a select committee of forty-three members. The Great Council gave way; when the Senate resisted, on the following day, the members found their place of meeting closed. Instead of the Senate and the Great Council there was established a "Legislative Council," which in its turn nominated an "Executive Council" of seven members as the government.

The result was that in the Helvetic republic there no longer existed a lawful parliament nor yet a lawful government. Whilst the leaders of the Legislative Council, Paul Usteri, Rengger and Gleyre, endeavoured to work out the best conceivable constitution for the unitary State, the constitutionless condition of the country, together with the altered condition of affairs in France, prompted the advocates of the old order to call in question the unitary republic itself and to intrigue more and more energetically for a return to the old federation of States.

More and more acute became the differences between the two parties, which received the names of the "Unitarians" (centralisers), that is, the advocates of the unitary State, and the "Federalists" (decentralisers), that is, the advocates of a federal constitution; and the worst of the matter was that party feeling became poisoned by foreign influence which took advantage of these internal dissensions for its own purposes.

The present ruler of France, the First Consul Bonaparte, when

concluding peace with Austria and England, was compelled to recognise the independence of Switzerland and the right of this country to frame its own constitution; but he was nevertheless determined to maintain the French domination in Switzerland, despite the treaties of Lunéville and of Amiens. For this reason he fanned the flames of party dissension, supporting now the Federalists and now the Unitarians with the deliberate aim of preventing the re-establishment of tranquillity in Switzerland, and in order to prove to the world that such tranquillity could be attained only under French tutelage. He was all too successful in his design. When the Unitarians perceived that the Federalists were endeavouring to secure approval in Paris for their plans, they laid before the First Consul through their representatives the draft of a complete constitution, but only to experience a sharp rebuff. In an audience at Malmaison on April 29th, 1801, Bonaparte gave them his own draft of a constitution, couched in the form of good advice. But this "good advice" was nothing short of a command; and the Legislative Council consequently determined to summon the "Helvetian Diet" provided for in the Malmaison proposal.

The Malmaison constitution, the first given to Switzerland by Napoleon, preserved the unitary State in form, but in reality introduced an innovation by constituting a federal State, for it restored to the Cantons the right to frame their own constitutions, but left the principal powers in the hands of the central authorities, comprising the "Diet," the "Senate," and the "Small Council" (which consisted of two chief magistrates and four other members). This form of State, to-day universally recognised in Switzerland, was then appreciated neither by the Unitarians nor by the Federalists. When the Helvetian Assembly met in September, 1801, the Unitarians utilised their majority in order to "improve" Bonaparte's "detestable constitutional draft" in the centralist sense. The Diet further angered Napoleon by refusing to hand over the Valais, whose cession he demanded for the sake of the Simplon Pass. Hardly, therefore, had the improved constitution been put on paper, when, on the night of October 27th–28th, 1801, there happened a third *coup d'état*, wherein a number of Bernese aristocrats and other Federalists, acting in understanding with the French envoy Verninac, gained control of the government and dissolved the Diet. The victors appointed members of their own party to all the offices, and

modified the constitution of Malmaison in their own sense. But the Federalists were unable to retain Bonaparte's favour for any considerable period, and they, too, proved obstinate in the matter of the cession of the Valais. Consequently the Unitarians, in understanding with Verninac, were able on April 17th, 1802, by a fourth *coup d'état*, to get control of affairs and to appoint their own nominees to office. They now seriously endeavoured to re-establish the republic upon a lawful basis, and in the summer of 1802 they submitted to the Swiss people a constitution which in essential respects preserved unity, but nevertheless restored important rights to the Cantons. When, however, the proposal was put to the vote, the results were unfavourable, 92,000 voting against, and 72,000 for the scheme, while the abstentions numbered 167,000. The government found a way out of the difficulty by assuming that the abstainers had given a tacit assent, and put the new constitution in force on the ground that it had been accepted by a large majority. This artifice could not alter the genuine sentiments of the nation. Nothing but their dread of French bayonets restrained the advocates of the old order from open rebellion. But hardly had the new Helvetian government been in office a week when the First Consul began to withdraw his troops from Switzerland, and with such speed that in three weeks there was no longer a single French soldier left upon Swiss soil.

The evacuation of Switzerland at this precise moment was one of the most perfidious master-strokes of Napoleonic statecraft. Ostensibly undertaken purely out of respect for the independence of Switzerland, guaranteed in the treaty of peace with Austria and England, it was in reality a cunningly calculated ruse aiming at throwing the country into a civil war and anarchy. In the Central Cantons and in Glarus, Appenzell and the Grisons, there immediately broke out an open insurrection against the Helvetian government in Bern. There were also disturbances in the town of Zurich. When the Helvetian general, Andermatt, wished to enter the place with his troops, the citizens closed their gates in his face. He endeavoured to force an entry, bombarding the town on September 12th and 13th with shell and red-hot shot, but had at length to withdraw his forces without having made his way into the town. The unsuccessful bombardment of Zurich gave the signal for a general rising against the detested and despised central govern-

ment. The peasants took up arms, not on account of any enthusiasm for the old régime, but because of the rancour they felt for all the miseries which the unitary republic had brought in its train. In Aargau and Solothurn thousands of them (in many cases armed only with stakes, so that the war was nicknamed the *Stecklikrieg* or war of the stakes), assembled under the leadership of a few Bernese patricians and gained possession of the towns of these regions. The unitary government appealed for help to Bonaparte, and had so completely lost confidence in its own powers that, when a few hundred men of the *Landsturm*, with two pieces of artillery, appeared before Bern, the town was handed over and the government fled to Lausanne. Upon the invitation of the rural Cantons, in accordance with ancient custom, a Federal Diet met in Schwyz. This body levied troops and appointed as general Bachmann of Glarus, an officer who had attained distinction in foreign service, instructing him to give the Helvetian government in Lausanne its quietus. At Faoug, on the lake of Morat, Bachmann routed the Helvetian troops; and on October 4th the latter were on the point of fleeing before the insurgents, in order to take refuge on the Savoy shore of that lake, when an adjutant of the First Consul, General Rapp, appeared in Lausanne, carrying instructions to the effect that his chief had determined to come forward as "mediator" in Switzerland in order to put an end to the distressing spectacle which it had offered for the last two years. The rebels were to lay down their arms; the Helvetian government was temporarily to resume its authority and to return to Bern. The government, the Cantons, and the towns were to send delegates to Paris to confer with the First Consul regarding the re-establishment of order and unity.

The Helvetian government, having nothing more to lose, eagerly accepted the offered means of rescue. The Diet in Schwyz was less compliant. This gave Bonaparte the desired excuse to send General Ney across the frontier with 12,000 men, whereupon the Diet dissolved itself. An English protest against the renewed French intervention in Switzerland resulted only in an exchange of notes in which the immeasurable pride of Napoleon was displayed, affording a reason for the breach of the recently concluded peace. Towards the end of the year 1802 a number of the most highly respected Swiss of both parties went to Paris to form there a "Helvetian Consulta," with whose co-operation Bonaparte fixed the new

scheme of Swiss government. If the Unitarians had hoped that France would not sacrifice the unitary State which that country had itself brought into existence at Napoleon's command, they were destined to be speedily and bitterly undeceived. At the very first meeting of the Consulta, the Mediator, in a written communication, expressed himself as frankly as possible in favour of the return to a federation of States, since this alone was suited to Swiss conditions. When giving audience to a deputation at St Cloud, he expressed himself in similar terms. Unquestionably what Napoleon said on this occasion embodies the most brilliant defence ever made of decentralisation in Switzerland; and down to 1848 his words were by many Swiss regarded as a sort of gospel. They overlooked the fact that Napoleon laid stress upon the considerations opposed to unity, not because the interests of Switzerland but because those of France seemed to him to demand the return of Switzerland to the federal system. If he were to place himself once more upon the side of the Unitarians, he would drive into the arms of Austria the party which from the military point of view had proved itself the stronger, and he would then be able to maintain his own influence only by force of arms. By declaring on the main issue in favour of the advocates of the old order, he transformed those who had hitherto constituted an anti-French party into his grateful adherents, while the Unitarians could not in any case think of seeking the support of another power. Moreover, he made an important concession to the Unitarians by refusing to permit a return to the old relations between the ruling towns and the subject territories, and while restoring cantonal sovereignty he made equality before the law the basis of his mediation. Thus, to the advocates of the old order he sacrificed unity, while to the revolutionary party he sacrificed aristocracy, and incontestably in this way satisfied the majority on both sides.

Napoleon now invited the Consulta to split up into cantonal committees, which were to draw up proposals for the cantonal constitutions and to submit these to his approval. When this work had been completed, a special committee of five Unitarians and five Federalists was invited to a personal conference with the First Consul in the Tuileries on January 29th, 1803. The entire Act of Mediation was read, first of all the constitutions of the nineteen Cantons and then those of the Confederation, this last being

Bonaparte's own work. The spokesmen of the two parties brought forward their objections, to which the First Consul replied with a definiteness and knowledge of local affairs that astounded all present; and in the end in most cases he maintained his own proposals. A few weeks had still to elapse before the transition arrangements had been settled, and then, in a formal audience on February 19th, 1803, Bonaparte handed the two committees of five the Act of Mediation, in a magnificent binding, and dismissed the Swiss to their homes. On March 10th the unitary government in Bern dissolved itself; the Helvetic colours disappeared; and the cantonal régime took a fresh start.

CHAPTER XXX

SWITZERLAND UNDER THE ACT OF MEDIATION

By the Act of Mediation the Helvetic Republic was replaced by the "Swiss Confederation," not, however, the ancient confederation of the thirteen Cantons and Allies, but a new confederation of nineteen Cantons endowed with equal rights. The thirteen old Cantons were, speaking generally, re-established with the same frontiers as before, the only exception being Bern, which was deprived of Vaud and Aargau. Six new Cantons were added to the original thirteen, comprising: (14) St Gall, consisting of the town of St Gall, the domains of the former prince-abbot, the "common bailiwicks" of the Rheinthal, Sargans, Gaster, Uznach and Rapperswyl, together with Werdenberg, which had formerly belonged to Glarus; (15) the Grisons; (16) Aargau, consisting of the former Bernese Lower Aargau, the "common bailiwicks" of the Freiamt and Baden, and the Frickthal, which had been ceded by Austria; (17) Thurgau; (18) Ticino, constituted out of the Leventina valley (formerly belonging to Uri), together with all the "common bailiwicks" to the south of the St Gotthard; (19) Vaud. On the other hand, not only did Geneva, Neuchâtel, Bienne, the Basel Jura, the Valtelline, Chiavenna and Bormio remain detached from Switzerland, but in addition, in August, 1802, the Valais was also separated, at first as an isolated republic under French protection, this step being taken because Napoleon desired to have the region absolutely in his own hands, having two years earlier begun the construction of a road over the Simplon suitable for the moving of artillery. It was understood that the Swiss were to regard the Frickthal as compensation for the Valais, although the Valais was thirteen times as large and had five times the number of inhabitants.

The Act of Mediation established a special constitution for each of the nineteen Cantons, no two of the new cantonal constitutions being completely identical. The old Cantons were reconstituted as pure democracies with popular assemblies. The constitution of the Grisons was similar, for here the ancient referendum—the vote of

the communes concerning the decisions of the Great Council—took the place of the popular assembly. All the other Cantons received "representative" constitutions. The supreme authority, the right of making laws, voting taxes, and choosing the members of the government, was here placed in the hands of the Cantonal or Great Councils. A difference, however, existed between the old urban Cantons and the new Cantons. Theoretically, indeed, in the former, legal equality between town and country existed, but in practice the town formerly dominant was so favoured, by means of artificial delimitation of electoral areas, by methods of election, and by property qualifications, as to receive many more representatives than were proportionate to its population. The consequence was that in the elections in the Cantons of Zurich and Bern the aristocratic party of the towns, with the aid of the minority which was constituted by its supporters in the rural districts, was able to secure a majority in the Great Council, and thus to get control of the government. In the new Cantons there were no old capital cities to receive a preference. But the constitutions of this group none the less had a plutocratic character, for the non-property-owning classes were by the property qualification excluded from both the active and the passive suffrage.

The nineteen Cantons formed a Confederation whose bond of union was a common federal constitution, the concluding chapter of the Act of Mediation. They guaranteed each other their domains, their constitutions, and their independence, while they were forbidden to form separate alliances either among themselves or with foreign countries. Questions of war and peace, alliances, commercial treaties, and military capitulations, were reserved for the Confederation as a whole. The Confederation declared all relations of "subjects" and all privileges of place, birth, person, or family, to be abolished. To every Swiss citizen it guaranteed freedom of settlement and occupation in all the Cantons, but not freedom of belief or of religious practice. By a special clause, the continuance of the monasteries was secured. The most celebrated of all, that of St Gall, alone was abolished, because the claims of the fugitive prince-abbot were irreconcilable with the maintenance of the new Canton of St Gall. Jurisdiction in matters of customs, coinage and posts was restored to the individual Cantons. The federal constitution guaranteed free trade in the interior of Switzerland, and forbade

the establishment of internal customs dues, retaining, however, certain tolls for the improvement of the roads, bridges, and weirs, these tolls, like all customs duties, being subject to the approval of the Diet. Coins were to be struck by the individual Cantons, but in accordance with a uniform standard to be prescribed by the federal authority. All powers not expressly reserved for the federal authority were restored to the Cantons. Thus military affairs passed once more under Cantonal control, save that a definite scale was fixed, prescribing the number of men which each Canton had to supply, so that for a federal army of 15,200 men Bern had to supply 2292 men, the largest contingent, and Uri 118 men, the smallest contingent. A similar scale regulated the monetary contributions which in case of need the individual Cantons would have to supply towards the cost of a campaign.

As before 1798, the Diet and the chief Canton (*Vorort*) were the federal organs. Each Canton sent one representative to the Diet, appointing also one or two supplementary deputies to take the place of the chief representative in case of need. As formerly, the deputies to the Diet were to receive binding instructions from the Cantons. The nineteen deputies had in all twenty-five votes, the Cantons with a population exceeding 100,000 being allotted a second vote. A three-fourths majority was requisite for declarations of war, treaties of peace, and alliances; but for commercial treaties, military capitulations, measures for the maintenance of public order, etc., an absolute majority sufficed.

The Act of Mediation did not establish any kind of standing central government. Current federal affairs were placed in the hands of one of six specified Cantons, Fribourg, Bern, Solothurn, Basel, Zurich and Lucerne; in annual rotation each of these became Vorort or "directorial Canton." The Diet met in the Vorort for the year. The mayor or the burgomaster of the Vorort received the title of "Landamman of Switzerland" and had extensive powers. He presided over the Diet, and conducted diplomatic negotiations. Should disturbances break out or other dangers threaten, he was empowered to set the troops in motion, but in case of continued danger he had to summon the Diet. He could call to order cantonal authorities which disregarded the federal constitution, could undertake works of urgent necessity on the high roads, bridges, etc., at the cost of those who ought to have performed

them, and so on. Since the Confederation had no income of its own, the Vorort had to defray the expenses involved in the conduct of current federal affairs.

Few of Napoleon's political creations have received such unanimous approval as the Swiss Act of Mediation. Unquestionably it was a cleverly calculated piece of statecraft, designed to maintain French influence in Switzerland and that in the easiest and most effective way. But for Switzerland herself it represented an enormous retrograde step, the destruction of all the unified institutions which had been acquired with such painful sacrifices, not excepting the most essential and obviously reasonable of these. In the last years of the Helvetic Republic, created in 1798, the question had not been between unity and federation, but between a federal State (*Bundestaat*) and a federation of States (*Staatenbund*); and, with the strong hand of authority which the First Consul exercised in his work of mediation, the structure of a federal State might have been retained and consolidated, and Switzerland might thus have been saved fifty years in the course of her political development. If Napoleon no longer permitted the existence of an effective central federal government, if he bound the Diet once more to cantonal instructions and thus condemned it to its ancient powerlessness, if he deprived the Confederation of all independent income, made military and postal affairs, the customs and the coinage, once again a tilting-ground for the narrow cantonal spirit, and if he destroyed religious freedom, these acts were the outcome neither of internal necessity nor yet of a superior understanding of the needs of the country, but were simply the arbitrary proceedings of a foreign potentate who adroitly utilised the reactionary impulses of the Swiss nation in order to make Switzerland as defenceless and inert as possible in her relations with France.

Nevertheless, if the mediatory constitution be compared with the conditions of 1798, we see that a revolutionary change had after all been effected. An important gain of the Revolution was maintained; the former subject territories and Allies had secured terms of equal brotherhood with the thirteen old Cantons. Within the Cantons, too, the distinction between the sovereign town and the subject country-folk had given place to the equality of all citizens before the law. The sovereignty which had formerly been in the hands of the town was now extended to the entire Canton;

the town was but one of the many communes of the State, and legally occupied the same relations to the State as any rural village. The central authority of the Confederation was also somewhat stronger than it had been before 1798. In place of the complicated structure of the old leagues and agreements, a comprehensive alliance on equal terms had come into existence. The majority principle, which had never been admitted by the old Confederation, was now recognised for the most important affairs; and some account was taken of the difference between the large Cantons and the small. In principle, at least, freedom of settlement and of trade was admitted throughout the entire Confederation.

The worst feature of the Act of Mediation was that it reduced Switzerland permanently to the level of a dependency of France, placing alike the federal constitution and those of the several Cantons under the mediator's guarantee. Not only, therefore, was it impossible in the future to change a single letter in any of the twenty constitutions without the permission of France, but, in addition, France acquired a legal title to act as interpreter of the twenty fundamental laws guaranteed by her, and could therefore intervene at any moment in Swiss affairs with commands or prohibitions, and could in the last resort be appealed to by dissatisfied minorities. But these fetters were insufficient for Napoleon. Hardly had the first Diet met at Fribourg in July, 1803, when General Ney announced that he had received instructions to conclude a military capitulation and a defensive alliance with the Confederation. Such an expression of readiness in the mouth of an ambassador who was backed up by an army was equivalent to a command. The conditions of the two treaties were fixed, not by common agreement, but at the dictation of France. The defensive alliance concluded on September 27th, 1803, for a term of fifty years secured for Switzerland the protection of France in the event of the former being attacked from without. In return for this protection, Switzerland had to pledge herself to buy annually from the French salt works 10,000 tons of expensive salt which could have been bought at half the price in Germany; the smuggling with France was to be suppressed, political refugees were to be handed over, and so on. Above all, in virtue of the military capitulation simultaneously concluded, France acquired the right to recruit in Switzerland 16,000 men in four regiments.

After Switzerland had been chained to France by the threefold bond of the constitutional guarantee, the defensive alliance, and the military capitulation, Napoleon withdrew his troops. Switzerland had now become one of the numerous Napoleonic dependencies which, though not directly incorporated into the Empire, must circle like planets in an orbit around this luminary. In France Napoleon ruled as Emperor, in Italy as king, and in Germany as protector of the Confederation of the Rhine; in like manner he ruled in Switzerland as "mediator." From 1809 onwards his official title was "Napoléon, empereur des Français, roi d'Italie, protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin, médiateur de la Confédération Suisse." The presence of the French envoys in Bern sufficed to secure the obedience of Switzerland; the Landamman was just strong enough to serve him in exerting pressure upon the Cantons. On all great ceremonial occasions in Paris the Swiss were represented by special envoys who conveyed to the mediator their humble good wishes. The chief art of the Swiss statesmen of this period was by a yielding disposition and by flattery to keep the world-ruler on the Seine in a good humour, lest with a stroke of the pen he should annul the remains of independence which he had left to Switzerland.

When all is said there can be no doubt that the Act of Mediation was more in conformity with the wishes of the Swiss nation of that day than was the constitution of Peter Ochs. Its introduction took place without resistance. It was only in the Canton of Zurich that the ancient hostility between town and country once again manifested itself in the form of a bloody dispute. Embittered by the victory of the aristocratic party in the elections, and incensed above all by the high price of redemption fixed by the Great Council of the Canton for the re-established tithes and ground-rents, in March, 1804, a portion of the country-folk (especially those dwelling by the lake) refused to take the oath of allegiance demanded by the new government. The castle of Wodenswyl was burned, and bands of armed men assembled. The government of Zurich appealed for help to the Landamman of the year, the Bernese mayor Von Wattenwol, who immediately arranged for Federal intervention. The rebels, under the leadership of a cobbler named Willi of Horgen, established upon the heights above this village, especially at the "Goat" (*Bocken*) public-house, displayed so tough a resistance that the government troops were forced to beat an inglorious retreat.

But when reinforcements were sent to Zurich by the Landamman and a second attack was made, the resistance collapsed. Willi was taken prisoner and was executed with three more of the insurgents. Many were condemned to imprisonment and other degrading punishments, and a war indemnity of 336,000 Swiss francs was imposed upon the communes concerned in the rising.

After the "Bocken War" tranquillity prevailed in Switzerland, especially since the governments, inspired by fear of Napoleon, earnestly endeavoured to suppress all free utterances of opinion whether spoken or written. The epoch of the Act of Mediation was one of reaction in other respects as well. In many of the Cantons the torture-chambers were reopened, while compulsion in matters of belief and of trade (exercised by the guilds) was reintroduced. The right of settlement which the federal constitution guaranteed to every Swiss citizen was rendered illusory by the refusal of many of the Cantons to tolerate differences of creed, while other Cantons endeavoured to prevent settlers hailing from other parts of Switzerland from exercising their trade, restricting the sale of landed property, and so on. Strong pressure from France was requisite before, in the year 1805, the Diet resolved to pass a federal law which almost made the right of settlement a practical reality. Discussions took place annually regarding the standard of the coinage prescribed by the constitution, but no definitive step was ever taken. Each Canton struck whatever coins it pleased; and among these coins a great many were of light weight in order to secure a larger profit. By mutual connivance, the right reserved of imposing tolls for the upkeep of roads and bridges was interpreted as a right to exact internal dues on all ancient income from property; and the Cantons were even permitted to make proposals to the Diet for the increase of such dues. In this manner the entire medieval confusion as to customs was re-established. Notwithstanding the prohibition of internal customs, on the St Gotthard road between Flüelen and Ursern, a distance of twenty-five miles, Uri levied nine tolls and similar dues under various names. The only gain which resulted to the Swiss nation from the change of the Helvetic postal system into one administered by the separate Cantons was a notable increase in the charges, accompanied by numberless complaints and vexations, and useless discussions in the Diet, so that, so early as 1812, Solothurn proposed to adopt a centralised postal system.

On the other hand, by the Act of Mediation Switzerland secured the internal and external tranquillity which was so urgently requisite for her recovery from the war troubles of the years 1798 and 1799. By well-intentioned governments the cantonal political systems were again put into working order; and through rigid economy the cantonal finances were once again placed upon a secure footing. Some of the Cantons improved their educational system in a highly satisfactory manner. Cantonal schools were founded in the Grisons, Aargau and St Gall, while in Bern the Academy and in Basel the University were reorganised. The devotion and the talents of certain individuals were above all effective in this field. Pestalozzi's school in Yverdun and that instituted by the Bernese patrician Fellenberg in Hofwyl were admired and esteemed as examples throughout Europe. In Yverdun, Pestalozzi attained the height of his fame. On February 13th, 1809, Frederick William III of Prussia issued a cabinet order declaring that, being convinced of the judiciousness and importance of Pestalozzi's doctrines and methods of education, he desired to have carefully chosen youths trained as teachers by the master; and there now began those pedagogic pilgrimages to Yverdun by which Pestalozzi's name has become inseparably connected with the history of the German elementary school and German science. Fellenberg's educational institution for members of the upper classes was attended by distinguished pupils from all parts of Europe; and his school for the poor, in which he undertook to accustom neglected children to a regular and industrious life, gave the impulse to the foundation of numerous houses of rescue in Switzerland and elsewhere. The Franciscan custos Grégoire Girard rivalled the two Protestant pedagogues in his educational activities; and under his management the elementary school of Fribourg became widely celebrated by reason of the application of the Bell-Lancaster method of reciprocal instruction. It was to Pestalozzi, Fellenberg and Girard, that Switzerland was indebted for the renown in the educational field which the country acquired during the first decades of the nineteenth century as a model in educational matters, a renown which attracted many educational specialists to Switzerland, but which, so far as its system of public education was concerned, was entirely undeserved, despite undeniable advances.

The regulation of the Linth river is a monument of the increasing

sense of communal responsibility characteristic of the age. The charming district between the lakes of Wallenstadt and Zurich had in the eighteenth century become a pestiferous marsh, so that the little towns of Weesen and Wallenstadt were barely habitable. Plans for remedying this state of affairs were brought forward so early as 1783; but, owing to the lamentable particularism of the old Confederation, the matter had remained in the stage of discussion. The Helvetic Republic had had no funds to undertake the work. Hans Conrad Escher of Zurich now submitted to the Diet a plan for obtaining the funds required; and from 1807 onwards the drainage of the marsh was carried on under federal guidance as a kind of shareholding undertaking on the part of the Cantons concerned, with the assistance of benevolent private individuals, corporations, and governments. Escher devoted all his time and energy to the affair, being in charge of the technical operations as well as responsible for the provision of the financial resources. As regards the latter, considerable difficulties arose, and he had at times to pay the workmen out of his own pocket. In 1822, however, he had the satisfaction of seeing his work for the most part completed, and it was crowned with the most splendid success.

In comparison with the other countries of Europe, Switzerland might esteem herself fortunate, in that, amid his incessant conflicts, Napoleon favoured her with a kind of neutrality by which she was spared the immediate burdens of war. Yet even in Switzerland the heavy hand of the Corsican despot was more and more painfully felt. In 1804, when the Diet proposed, by the institution of a permanent general military staff and by establishing a federal military organisation, to secure a really effective military system, Napoleon menacingly interposed a veto, on the ground that these decrees infringed the Act of Mediation. All that Switzerland could furnish in the way of good soldiers and officers were to be available for France. The military capitulation of 1803 was falsely interpreted by Napoleon, against its wording, as imposing upon Switzerland the duty of herself providing that the four regiments comprising 16,000 men should always have a full muster roll, so that the terrible gaps in their ranks which resulted from his murderous wars should be always filled by fresh levies—threatening that in case of default he would have recourse to conscription as elsewhere. The sole concession he made, in a new agreement signed in 1812, was that the

figure of the levies was lowered to 12,000, while to keep the roll full Switzerland had to provide 2000 recruits annually, and in case of war in Germany or in Italy 3000. Since service under Napoleon, involving certain death or intolerable hardships, became more and more detested by the people, the governments had to have recourse to every conceivable means in order to secure the requisite number of recruits fit for military service. Many of the Cantons punished sloth, prodigality, brawling and other offences by sending the guilty men into the French military service. Thus it was that the Swiss had to shed their blood for Napoleon in Spain, Portugal, Germany and Russia, in short, upon all the battlefields of Europe.

As a matter of course Switzerland had to play her part in the Continental Blockade directed against England. In 1806 she had to prohibit the import of English goods under severe penalties, and in 1810 to confiscate any such goods found in the country; colonial produce was laid under contribution, whatever its origin, being subjected to unheard-of dues; even cotton, which was essential to the Swiss manufacturing industry, was included. A French customs-inspector was actually appointed for Switzerland to ensure the execution of these measures. It might have been supposed that in compensation Napoleon would have lowered as far as possible the customs-barriers between the various Continental nations over which his tyranny was exercised. Far from taking this course, however, he excluded Swiss produce from France and Italy by a wall of tariffs and prohibitions. Commerce and industry languished under the crushing oppression of the Napoleonic prohibitions. Most terrible of all was the poverty of the numerous hand-spinners in Glarus and East Switzerland, for these were affected by the excessive competition of machine yarn as well as by the general depression of the cotton industry. Dearly bought, therefore, was the sole economic advance made by Switzerland during the Napoleonic epoch—the transition of the Swiss cotton industry from hand-spinning to machine-spinning and the general introduction of machine industry, to-day so flourishing. Hans Kaspar Escher of Zurich was the father of machine-spinning in Switzerland. In 1805 he founded a spinning mill near Zurich, run by the firm of Escher-Wyss and Co., whose machines were constructed by Escher himself, and which subsequently made machines for other spinners.

The existence of Switzerland seemed now to hang only by a thread. In 1806 Prussia ceded the principality of Neuchâtel to Napoleon, who caused the place to be occupied by General Oudinot, and handed it over to Marshal Berthier, his chief of staff, as a military fief. The prince-elector Charles of Baden, who, by his marriage with Stéphanie Beauharnais, Napoleon's adopted daughter, had become the Emperor's son-in-law, sent a petition to Napoleon, demanding the whole of Switzerland for the ruling house of Baden as a "kingdom of Helvetia"—but without success. The republic of the Valais, on the other hand, was by a decree of November 12th, 1810, annexed to the Empire as the "department of the Simplon," this being done with an eye to the magnificent Simplon road which had been completed in 1805, and on the construction of which Napoleon claimed to have spent 12 million francs, and later even 18 million francs. The annexation of the Valais was speedily followed by that of the Canton of Ticino, which by Napoleon's orders was, in October, 1810, temporarily occupied by Italian troops and customs officials, ostensibly for the prevention of the smuggling trade. The complaints of Switzerland brought no redress. When Georg Joseph Sidler of Zug gave expression in the Diet to the "profoundly painful feelings aroused by the occupation of the Canton of Ticino," Napoleon sent a menace to the Swiss legation in Paris to the effect that he "might one day, perhaps at midnight, order the annexation of Switzerland." If he allowed Switzerland to continue in existence as the only republic in Europe, neither annexing it to the Empire, nor transforming it into a fief for one of his relatives or marshals, this was not only because he was influenced by the subserviency of the Swiss statesmen, but also because he greatly respected the bravery of the Swiss soldiers in his service. About 9000 Swiss took part in the Russian campaign of 1812, but, like the rest of the army, this force melted rapidly away owing to the lack of good commissariat arrangements, and of the bad drinking water, and consequent illness. Those who still remained fit for active service distinguished themselves by heroic deeds in the battles near Polozk on October 17th–20th, and in the crossing of the Beresina on November 26th –28th, but by the end of the campaign the four Swiss regiments had been practically annihilated.

CHAPTER XXXI

OVERTHROW OF THE ACT OF MEDIATION

When, after the destruction of the *grande armée* in the Russian snowfields, the nations, in the year 1813, rose everywhere to wage wars of liberation against the despot, Napoleon, Switzerland displayed little inclination to follow this example. Since Switzerland had not had to pass through the same painful schooling of material suffering, there was lacking here the fierce hatred which moved the Germans and the Spaniards to take up arms against the oppressor. On the other hand, a great part of the population dreaded lest the overthrow of Napoleon might be followed by an aristocratic reaction, by the return of the patriciate and of the dominion of the towns. Nor were these fears unjustified. In aristocratic circles Napoleon's defeats were hailed with repressed rejoicings, not so much on national grounds, as through sympathy with a policy of reaction. In Bern, after the battle of Leipzig, there was talk of the reconquest of Vaud and Aargau. Bern was the centre of the reactionary party. Hence there was good reason to fear that, upon the appearance of the Allies on the frontier, Bern would give the signal for a fanatical counter-revolution, that this would meet with an equally fierce resistance, and that a fresh period of interminable confusions would begin for Switzerland.

In these circumstances the most far-sighted among the Swiss of the different parties considered it necessary that the existing order and the well-tried principle of neutrality should be unconditionally maintained. The Diet, meeting in Zurich on November 18th, 1813, unanimously resolved to observe an armed neutrality. Napoleon, for whom Switzerland served to cover an unfortified frontier extending for a hundred miles, expressed himself as being thoroughly satisfied with this determination. Indeed, in general, after the battle of Leipzig, the Emperor's tone towards Switzerland became milder; he even went so far as to withdraw the Italian soldiers and customs officials quietly from Ticino. Very different was the attitude of the Allies. Their plan of campaign, especially as advocated by Austria, was that in order to turn the flank of the French chain

of fortresses on the Rhine the main army under Prince Schwarzenberg should make its way across Switzerland. Through the two envoys, the Russian diplomatist Capo d'Istria and the Austrian von Lebzeltern, they endeavoured to persuade Switzerland to support voluntarily the common interests of Europe. When this embassy proved fruitless, the Austrian commanders led their forces through South Germany, and approached ever nearer to the Swiss frontier, for they were determined to employ force should a free passage be refused.

Tsar Alexander I, who was regarded as the head of the coalition, influenced by the letters of his former tutor Laharpe, had indeed expressed himself as opposed to any infringement of Swiss neutrality; but his good wishes were rendered nugatory by intrigues woven in Switzerland. Just as in 1798 Ochs and Laharpe had summoned French bayonets to their aid in order to bring about the revolution, so now some of the proud aristocrats of Bern did not hesitate to call in the Austrians in order to complete the counter-revolution which had been but half effected by the Act of Mediation, and in order to revive the Confederation of the thirteen Cantons with its patriciates and subject territories. A number of Bernese patricians had an interview at Waldshut with a Grisons man of their own way of thinking who had entered Austrian service, Count Johann von Salis-Soglio; and this "Waldshut committee" entered into communication at Freiburg-im-Breisgau with Prince Metternich, the principal Minister of the Emperor Francis. The committee declared that, notwithstanding the official proclamation of neutrality, the entry of the Allies was desired by all true Swiss, that the new Cantons must be abolished as bulwarks of French influence, and that in Bern people were only awaiting the appearance of the Allies to join their side and to declare null and void all that had happened since 1798. Encouraged by the representations of the Waldshut committee, Metternich and Schwarzenberg, during the temporary absence of the Tsar, secured the consent of the Emperor Francis to the invasion of Switzerland and to the overthrow of the Act of Mediation. It was Napoleon's own fault that Switzerland was incapable of maintaining her neutrality by force of arms. Not only had his veto prevented any real improvement of the Swiss military system, but further, at the last moment, when the Landamman of Switzerland, Burgomaster Reinhard of Zurich, had proposed to

raise 45,000 men to protect the frontier, Talleyrand, Napoleon's envoy, induced the Landamman to content himself with quite a small levy, for Napoleon feared that Switzerland might join forces with the Allies. The consequence was that at the decisive moment no more than 10,000 Swiss militiamen stood on the Rhine opposed to the veteran Allied army of 160,000. In these circumstances it was impossible for von Wattenwil, the federal general, to think of giving battle, and on December 20th, 1813, he concluded a treaty with the Austrians, by which he agreed to withdraw the federal forces along the whole line of that river; and immediately afterwards Reinhard the Landamman ordered the complete abandonment of that frontier. During the last week of the year 1813, 130,000 Austrians and Bavarians entered Switzerland across the various bridges over the Rhine from Basel to Eglisau, and marched into France along the roads between Basel and Geneva. On January 13th, 1814, the three monarchs, the Tsar Alexander, the Emperor Francis and King Frederick William III of Prussia, with an additional force of 30,000 Russians, celebrated the Russian new year by entering Basel.

It was Metternich's wish to associate with the entry of the Allies a counter-revolution of the kind desired by the Bernese patricians. A Saxon, Count von Senfft-Pilsach, hastened to Bern in advance of the army as an emissary of the Austrian Minister, and announced there that, since the Act of Mediation was the work of Napoleon, the Allied monarchs could not endure its existence for a day longer. Demanding the resignation of the cantonal government of Bern, which existed in virtue of this Act, and the re-establishment of the ancient patrician authorities, he proposed that Vaud and Aargau should once more be subjected to the rule of Bern. The government, the majority of whose members were patricians, yielded after a fictitious opposition; and on December 24th, 1813, the remnants of the former patrician Two Hundred, declaring themselves to be once more the "legitimate" government, seized the helm of state, and announced the fact to their "subjects" in a proclamation couched in antediluvian phraseology. Above all, the officials in the "severed portions of the Canton," namely in Vaud and Aargau, were instructed to hold the public funds and supplies at the disposal of the "rightful" government in Bern.

The revolution in Bern spurred on the patricians of all the Cantons to imitate the Bernese example. In Solothurn the forty-one

still living members of the former patrician Great Council took possession of the town-hall at eleven o'clock at night on January 8th, 1814, while other conspirators seized the arsenal and the chief guard-house. Repeated attempts at insurrection in the rural districts were repressed with Bernese aid, and were punished as crimes. In Fribourg, also, the patricians forcibly recovered their ancient authority. In Lucerne, Rüttimann, the mayor, placed himself at the head of the conspiracy, and on February 16th, 1814, overthrew the existing government by a *coup d'état*. In understanding with the patricians, the Swiss of the Forest Cantons revived their claims over their former subjects. Uri desired to seize the Val Leventina from Ticino; Schwyz, Uznach and Gaster from the Canton of St Gall; Zug, the Freiamt from the Canton of Aargau. The prince-abbot of St Gall, Pankraz Vorster, wished to re-establish his monastic state. The whole of Switzerland was in a ferment. The new Cantons, threatened with attack and dismemberment by their federal brethren, prepared for war; and from moment to moment the outbreak of civil strife seemed imminent.

During the witches' sabbath of all the lusts of reaction unchained by Metternich, Zurich, under the leadership of Landamman Reinhard, summoned a Diet to Zurich, issuing the summons to all the nineteen Cantons, and not, as Bern desired, to the thirteen old Cantons only. On December 29th, 1813, acting under pressure from the envoy of the Allies, this assembly annulled the Act of Mediation, but on the same day it laid the foundations of a new league between the nineteen existing Cantons, and announced as a matter of principle that no conditions of subjection incompatible with the rights of a free people could be re-established. The majority of the Cantons agreed with Zurich. Lucerne, Fribourg, Solothurn, the Forest Cantons and Zug, however, made common cause with Bern, and established a rival assembly in Lucerne. Thus, under the very eyes of the foreign monarchs, ministers and military commanders, Switzerland displayed the painful spectacle of hopeless internal confusion, a spectacle which plainly invited foreign intervention. Fortunately this intervention was effected in a cautious and benevolent spirit, principally under the influence of Tsar Alexander, who was guided by the counsels of Laharpe. The Tsar bitterly reproached Metternich for his intrigues, which had caused such great disturbances in Switzerland, and compelled him to

disavow and recall his emissary Senfft. Early in March, 1814, during the campaign against Napoleon, Alexander induced Francis and Frederick William (when the Allied monarchs were in headquarters at Chaumont) to join with him in insisting upon the maintenance of the nineteen Cantons, and in declaring that they would not recognise any constitution unless it rested upon this basis. When the Bernese and their associates obstinately adhered to the rival assembly in Lucerne, they were told that, if the eight Cantons failed to send their representatives to the Diet at Zurich within twenty-four hours, the Allied Powers would enforce the mediation, of which printed notice had previously been given.

The Bernese aristocracy and their associates in the other Cantons reluctantly gave way. On April 6th, 1814, the delegates of all the nineteen Cantons were at length assembled in Zurich. The Diet, which remained sitting with brief intermissions for nearly a year and a half and consequently became known by the name of the "Long Diet," had the difficult task of drawing up a system which, by means of a new federal constitution, should reweld the completely disordered Confederation into a compact whole, maintain internal peace (which was still gravely endangered), and finally decide the relations of the new domains which were to join Switzerland. All this had to be effected in continuous intercourse with the envoys of the Allied Powers, among whom the Russian minister, Capo d'Istria, and the Englishman, Stratford Canning, played the leading parts, exercising a gentle pressure whenever the dissensions in the Diet became too lively. After incredible labour, by September 9th, 1814, the work of constructing the new federal constitution had in essentials been completed. Further, on September 12th, 1814, the Valais, Neuchâtel and Geneva were, at their own request, accepted into the Confederation as three new Cantons.

Geneva had not thriven as part of the French Empire, either from an intellectual or an economic point of view. Consequently, when the Allies entered Switzerland, the town voluntarily shook off the French yoke, and on December 30th, 1813, opened its gates to the Austrians. There was danger for a time that Napoleon would punish this falling away, as he punished Hamburg through Davoust. In the beginning of March, 1814, a French army appeared before the gates of Geneva and was about to seize the town when the general

course of the war made withdrawal imperative. In Valais, too, where, at the end of December, the small bodies of French troops had been cleared out by an Austrian force under the command of Colonel Simbschen, the great majority of the population regarded the coming of the Allies as a liberation, while in Neuchâtel the king of Prussia was received with illuminations and cheers. On January 9th, 1814, Frederick William III resumed possession of his principality. Geneva, Valais and Neuchâtel, on rejoining Switzerland, wished to effect their reunion in a better and closer form. Acceptance as Cantons with full right put the seal on their new-won independence; and the Allies were completely at one in approving this step.

Side by side with the organisation of the Confederation there was carried on the work, to some extent even more difficult, of reorganising the several Cantons which, wherever the overthrow of the mediatory constitution had not been effected from within, were forced by the foreign ministers to carry out constitutional alterations in the direction of an approximation to the old conditions. In the autumn of 1814, with the Federal convention of September 9th, the provisional reception of Valais, Neuchâtel and Geneva into the Confederation, and the completion of most of the cantonal constitutions, the rebuilding of Switzerland was in a sense complete, and under one roof; but the essential foundation of well-defined cantonal frontiers was still lacking. It had not as yet proved possible to induce Bern and the rural Cantons to renounce their claims of territory or pecuniary compensation from the newly admitted Cantons. Thus, Bern obstinately insisted upon the restoration of that portion of the Canton of Aargau which had at one time been Bernese territory, and demanded from Vaud, as a price of redemption, the sum of 4,657,061 Swiss francs. The final decision of all these interminable disputes was handed over by the Swiss to the foreign Powers, since an amicable understanding among themselves had proved impossible.

Late in the autumn of 1814 the monarchs and ministers of Europe met in Vienna in order to regulate the numerous European questions which had been left unsettled in the first peace of Paris. The Swiss Diet also sent an embassy of three members to the Congress of Vienna, the leader being Landamman Reinhard. But

in addition to the federal envoys there were quite a number of supplementary envoys appointed by individual cantons or territories, so that it was impossible for the Swiss at the Congress to present a uniform front. It was for this reason alone, for example, that the Valtelline, Bormio and Chiavenna, which all the Powers except Austria desired to restore to Switzerland, were ultimately lost to the country and continued to form part of Lombardy. Fortunately the Great Powers were in other respects animated by genuine good feeling towards Switzerland. They nominated a special committee for Swiss affairs, which gave audience to the quarrelsome brethren like a court of justice and then issued its decisions. The claims of Bern upon Vaud and Aargau were ultimately rejected, but in compensation Bern received the town of Bienne and the greater part of the former bishopric of Basel, the region which now constitutes the Bernese Jura. Aargau, Vaud and St Gall had to pay the small Cantons a lump sum of half a million Swiss francs as a sort of entrance fee into the Confederation; while Ticino had to divide with Uri the yield of the customs-dues in Val Leventina. The securities which had been sequestrated by England in 1798 were restored to Zurich and Bern, but the accumulated interest down to the year 1814 had to be utilised for the discharge of the still unpaid debt of the Helvetic Republic which amounted to more than three million francs. Should Switzerland voluntarily accept this award the Powers promised the formal recognition of her perpetual neutrality. In this neutrality was included that of northern Savoy, which was restored to the king of Sardinia, neutrality here meaning that in the event of war no other troops than those of Switzerland might enter that country. As a compensation for North Savoy, Sardinia had to hand over to Geneva a number of Savoyard villages together with Carouge, in order to round off the small Canton of Geneva, the territory of which had hitherto been comprised in several "enclaves" of Savoy.

Not only did the Swiss willingly accept the compromise proposed by the Congress of Vienna, but after Napoleon's return from Elba they made common cause with the Allies in the new war, and stationed on the western frontier an army of 40,000 men under the command of General Bachmann. In consequence of the bombardment of Basel by the garrison of Hüningen and other acts of hostility on the part of the French, in July, 1815, Bachmann invaded Franche-

Comté, though not until after the battle of Waterloo. Further, in the siege of Hüningen by the Austrian Archduke John, Switzerland co-operated with 11 guns and 5000 men. Although in 1815 the country did not acquire any notable laurels of war, nevertheless in the second peace of Paris, through the ability of the Swiss envoy, Pictet de Rochemont of Geneva, Switzerland secured 3,000,000 francs war indemnity as some compensation for the plunderings of 1798 and 1799, and also the cession of a narrow strip of French territory along the lake of Geneva whereby Geneva was directly linked with Vaud. While in Paris, Pictet de Rochemont also drafted for the Powers the promised charter of neutrality whereby on November 20th, 1815, was guaranteed the perpetual neutrality, inviolability and independence of Switzerland.

Amid the clash of arms the "Long Diet" at Zurich had at length concluded the reconstruction of Switzerland. All the Cantons, Nidwalden alone excepted, had given their assent to the new federal constitution and to the arrangements made by the Congress of Vienna. Thereupon the Diet decreed the solemn inauguration of the new Confederation on August 7th, 1815. Zurich was decorated for the occasion. At nine o'clock in the morning the members of the Diet met in the town hall to put their seals to the Federal Constitution inscribed on parchment. Then, to the pealing of bells and salvos of artillery, they marched between lines of soldiers and spectators to the Grossmünster, and took the oath of allegiance in the presence of the foreign envoys and of the Archduke John (specially come from Basel), after a moving patriotic address had been delivered by Burgomaster David von Wyss.

This impressive ceremony was marred only by the absence of the half-Canton of Nidwalden. When the Federal party in this district, afraid of maltreatment, begged for the protection of a force of soldiers, the Diet hesitated no longer. The entrance of the Federal troops was effected without resistance, and served to increase the Swiss sentiments of the Nidwaldeners to such a degree that the popular assembly unanimously voted its adhesion to the Confederation and sent a delegate to the "Long Diet." On August 31st, 1815, this body dissolved itself, and the work it had so laboriously brought to perfection—the "Federal Pact" of the twenty-two Cantons—remained for thirty-three years the fundamental law of Switzerland.

BOOK V

THE EPOCH OF THE FEDERAL PACT OF 1815
1815-1848

CHAPTER XXXII

EPOCH OF THE RESTORATION

Owing to the energetic intervention of the Tsar Alexander, the reaction which Metternich had let loose was arrested half way; and the Cantons created by Napoleon's Act of Mediation remained the starting-point for the future development of Switzerland. Nevertheless the endeavour to reinstate the old régime had not been entirely ineffectual. The "Federal Pact" of 1815 watered down still more the "central federal powers" which the Act of Mediation had already so much cut down. This Pact permitted the Cantons to contract separate alliances with one another on condition that such alliances should not be injurious to the Confederation as a whole. Equality before the law was no longer protected; it was with difficulty that a clause had been inserted in the Federal Pact of 1815 stating in very elastic terms that the enjoyment of political rights should never be the "exclusive" privilege of one particular class. Nor was freedom of settlement any longer safeguarded by a Federal guarantee, so that some of the Cantons immediately seized the opportunity of expelling Swiss who had come from other Cantons. The Federal Pact of 1815 had as little to say as the Act of Mediation about the protection of religious freedom; on the other hand, at the instigation of the Nuncio the continuance of the monasteries was guaranteed by the Confederation. In the Diet all the Cantons, large and small alike, were once more entitled to a single vote each, so that the 12,000 Uri men had as much influence in Federal affairs as the 200,000 Zurichers and the 300,000 Bernese. The Vororts were reduced from six to three, Zurich, Bern and Lucerne, the cantonal governments of which, in rotation and for two years in succession, performed the functions of a central Federal govern-

ment. Within the Small Council of the Vorort there was constituted a narrower committee to deliberate on Federal affairs. This committee was named *Staatsrat* (Council of State) in Zurich and Lucerne, and *Geheimer Rat* (Privy Council) in Bern. As in the Diet, the presidency of this committee was in the hands of the burgomaster or mayor of the acting Vorort; but the president possessed neither the title nor the special powers which had been allotted to the "Landamman" of Switzerland during the period of the Act of Mediation.

One notable advantage of the Federal Pact of 1815, when compared with the Act of Mediation, was that it was the work of Switzerland herself, and was not granted under any foreign guarantee, for the Long Diet had been careful not to submit it in any way to the Congress of Vienna for ratification. Thus, there was secured to Switzerland the right of establishing its own constitution; and when, at a later date, the foreign Powers endeavoured to interfere in Swiss constitutional affairs, they found that any legal right for such a step was lacking. The new constitution also furnished the possibility of reorganising the military system, a possibility which Napoleon had intentionally withheld. The Diet was granted the right of organising the Federal army, of supervising its training and equipment, of nominating its general staff and its colonels. A modest beginning was made also in Federal finance, for the Cantons decided to devote the yield of certain customs-dues to the creation of a Federal war treasury, into which the three million francs for the French war indemnity were subsequently paid.

Under the influence of the foreign diplomatists, who had considered the constitution of the period of the Act of Mediation unduly democratic, the reactionary tendency in the individual Cantons was even more marked than in Federal affairs. Bern, Lucerne, Fribourg and Solothurn, became once more what they had been prior to 1798, patrician aristocracies, which, to the disappointment of their whole-hearted supporters, such as the "restorer," Carl Ludwig von Haller, were nevertheless compelled to make certain concessions to the new age. In order to comply with the Federal constitution, the patricians of Bern accepted ninety-nine deputies from the rural districts into the Great Council, in which they themselves were represented by two hundred life members; thus, the rural members constituted but a powerless appendage to the patrician

aristocracy. It was much the same in Fribourg and Solothurn, whereas in Lucerne conditions were more equitable, for, while there were fifty patricians, there was an equal number of representatives from the rural districts.

But even in the other old Cantons, where there had not taken place any forcible transformation of the constitutions that obtained under the Act of Mediation, there were made, in 1814, modifications in the aristocratic sense. In the Great Council of Zurich, the town, with 10,000 inhabitants, had 130 representatives, while the rural district, with 200,000 inhabitants, had only 82; in Basel, the town with 15,000 inhabitants, had 90 representatives on the Council, and the rural district, with 30,000 inhabitants, had but 60. Schwyz demanded that the former subject "outer" districts of Einsiedeln, the March, Küssnacht, etc., should, in spite of their denser population, be content to elect no more than one-third of the cantonal council, while the district of Schwyz itself, as the former ruler of the whole area, was to elect the remaining two-thirds.

The new Cantons, which had not to contend with former ruling towns laying claim to special privileges, endeavoured to introduce an aristocratic element into their constitutions by raising the property qualification, by creating an exceptionally complicated system of election, and by lengthy tenure of office. In the Valais, the once sovereign Upper Valais came into such violent conflict with the once subject Lower Valais about the representation in the cantonal council, that a separation of the two districts was avoided only by the intervention of the foreign ministers, by whose exertions the contending parties were at length reconciled. The whole territory was divided into thirteen dizains, each dizain sending four representatives to the cantonal council. For the rest, the Valais was, like the Grisons, a Canton in which the Referendum existed. Laws, after being passed by the cantonal council, had subsequently to be approved by a majority of the dizain councils before they could be considered valid; finance laws, military capitulations and naturalisations had to be submitted to the communal councils as well.

With the exception of those Cantons which possessed popular assemblies and those in which the Referendum was in force, Geneva was unique in arranging for a popular vote to be taken (1814) on its new constitution; in all the other Cantons, the modified

constitutions were adopted without approval by the people as soon as they had been approved by the foreign ministers. The Genevese constitution declared all Genevese equal before the law, without any reference to the differences between citizens, burghers, natives and subjects—distinctions which had played so important a part in local politics in the eighteenth century; yet the constitution had been so adroitly drafted that the rule of the old Genevese aristocracy was reinstated in a modernised form. The erstwhile democratic counterpoise to the aristocratic councils, the general assembly of all the citizens, was replaced by a Council of Representatives composed of 278 members. By means of property qualifications and a complicated electoral system the old Genevese families were assured a majority in this sovereign assembly.

A peculiar position was occupied by the principality of Neuchâtel, for King Frederick William III, while in London in 1814, had granted it a constitution. With regard to administration and the judicature this constitution confirmed the *status quo*; that is to say, the rule of the Neuchâtelois aristocracy was to continue, and places in the Council of State and all other high offices were, according to tradition, to be reserved for members of this order. The king had the right of nomination to nearly all posts; but to guard against princely caprice it was declared that no office, with one exception, could be filled by a foreigner, while appointments were to be tenable for life. The monarch was given a free hand only in the matter of the *Gouverneur*, who was the chief in the Council of State and in the government. The clumsy "Union of Corporations and Communes" of the eighteenth century was replaced by the old *Audiences Générales* (which had not been summoned since 1618). The *Audiences* were revived as a legislative authority, which nevertheless was so composed as to be no more than an obedient tool in the hands of the government. This authority was composed of the thirty-five highest state officials, of fourteen notables nominated by the king, and of thirty life-deputies elected from the districts upon a very complicated franchise. In relation to Prussia, the "sovereign, inalienable, indivisible" principality remained, as it had throughout the eighteenth century, a foreign State. When admitting Neuchâtel into the Confederation, Switzerland had stipulated that the government sitting in Neuchâtel was the sole authority empowered to give instructions to the deputies, to ratify and to execute the decisions

of the Swiss Diet; that no other sanction or approval was to be required; and that the Canton must fulfil its Federal duties like any other Canton. The Confederation thus refused to deal directly with the king of Prussia; the native Neuchâtelois rulers were to handle Federal affairs as if no sovereign were above them. The future, however, was to show that no precaution can avail against the force of circumstances, for Neuchâtel nevertheless became the instrument of the court of Berlin, which, whenever it liked, interfered very vigorously in Swiss affairs.

The entry of the Allies had given the *coup de grâce* to the French protectorate over Switzerland; and the act of neutrality of November 20th, 1815, maintained that Swiss "independence of foreign influence harmonised best with the true interests of all the European States." As a fact, the protectorate of France had been replaced by the joint tutelage of the Great Powers. Though at first Switzerland was treated with consideration, before long the country became a source of suspicion to the Powers, whether as an asylum for political offenders or as a centre of revolutionary licence. At the time of the prosecution of the demagogues in Germany and of Metternich's interventions in Italy, republican Switzerland became the place of refuge of numberless proscribed and discontented persons from the neighbouring countries, because in Switzerland police supervision and other monarchical instruments of oppression were lacking. This brought her into conflict with the reactionary policy of the Holy Alliance. At the congresses of Troppau, Laibach and Verona, Austria, Prussia, Russia and France determined to require the expulsion of the refugees from Switzerland, and simultaneously to insist upon a closer supervision of Swiss newspapers. Isolated sentences of banishment having no effect, Metternich, in 1823, introduced into his despatches a clause which was equivalent to a threat of military occupation. In order to avert this, the Diet on July 14th, 1823, issued a "Press and Foreigner Order" whereby the right of asylum traditional in Switzerland was sacrificed, and, in addition, a severe censorship of the press, at least so far as foreign affairs were concerned, was imposed upon the Cantons. The annual renewal (until 1829) of this "Foreigner Order" was the clearest proof of the dependence of Switzerland on the Powers. Fortunately the guardians were rarely of one mind. England, in especial, held aloof from the hunt after these refugees.

Very remarkable was it also that the Powers, which accused Switzerland of having become the focus of revolution, desired her most urgently to undertake the protection of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which was now threatened by the revolution; nor did they rest content until a number of Cantons had made a military capitulation with Naples in 1824–1828, agreeing to supply 6000 men in four regiments. Already in 1814–16, capitulations had been made with Holland for four regiments, and in 1816 with France for two regiments of guards and four regiments of the line; but, although foreigners still considered that mercenary service was an inseparable feature of Swiss nationality, in reality the days of that service were numbered. Not only was the system increasingly antagonistic to the attempt to raise armies composed of the subjects of the land in question, and not only did it encounter increasing hostility alike in France and in the Netherlands, but the Swiss themselves turned their backs on this practice, so that the problem how to fill the cadres of the capitulated regiments with authentic Swiss became more and more difficult.

Foreign mercenary service provided numerous advantages in the way of commissions, pensions, titles of nobility and knightly orders; and the hope of securing these advantages chained the members of the ruling caste to the interests of the foreign land in question. Consequently, the complaints of those who regarded the mercenary system as one of the chief causes of Swiss dependence upon foreign Powers, and who therefore resisted it on principle, became ever louder and more emphatic.

Like the external relations, the internal conditions of the period of the Restoration were in many respects unsatisfactory. In some of the Cantons, medieval methods of government and judicial procedure were revived; in Schwyz, in 1821, a delinquent was racked fifty-two times. The governments prided themselves on the cheapness of their administration and endeavoured, so far as possible, to dispense with taxation; consequently, their undertakings in the fields of education, public works, and so on, were extremely modest. In one place there was again great compulsion in matters of belief, in another toleration was extremely limited. In Catholic Switzerland the Jesuits, whose Order had been re-established by the Pope, once more made their appearance; first in the Valais, subsequently, in 1818, in Fribourg, where they suppressed the educational

activities of the meritorious Grégoire Girard, the Franciscan, because in their fanaticism they questioned the orthodoxy of this Pestalozzi of Catholic Switzerland.

On the other hand, the peaceful years 1815–1830 were characterised by a growth in the strength of Switzerland within. Industry and commerce once more revived, notwithstanding the great obstacles which the policy of very rigid protection in neighbouring lands placed in the way of the economic prosperity of the country.

Swiss industry found out the way to conquer trade overseas, which proved to be a substitute for the markets that had been lost to her in Europe. With astonishingly small means at its disposal, the Grisons succeeded in engineering metalled roads over the San Bernardino and Splügen passes; and Uri and Ticino did the same over the St Gotthard—in both cases worthy counterparts to the Simplon road which had been constructed under Napoleon. In 1823 steamships began to ply upon the Swiss lakes. Voluntary associations gave rise to brisk activity in matters of public utility, of art, and of science. Certain Cantons, such as Bern, Aargau, Vaud and Geneva, set seriously to work upon the codification of the civil and criminal law. The military system was improved by efficient officers, among whom the most noteworthy was perhaps Guillaume Henri Dufour of Geneva. In 1817 the Diet created a permanent Federal military Board of superintendence and a Federal military organisation; in 1818 a military academy was founded at Thun; while from 1820 onwards troops from various Cantons were brought together for manoeuvres on a large scale, an event hitherto unknown in Swiss annals. Since, in general, the Diet proved incompetent to cope with the demands of the time, the more Radical Cantons sought to fill the worst gaps in the Federal Pact by means of voluntary agreements or "Concordats." Thus, in 1819, twelve Cantons agreed to the principle of free settlement, nineteen agreed to a common coinage, and seventeen permitted mixed marriages.

The Greek wars of liberation, which in Switzerland had given rise to many Philhellenic societies and had found one of its strongest advocates in Jean Gabriel Eynard of Geneva, gave a mighty impulse to liberal and democratic ideas throughout the country. Around the veterans of the Helvetic Republic, such as Laharpe, Usteri, Zschokke and others, gathered a crowd of gifted young men who promoted a healthy public life in the Cantons, and a more cen-

tralised authority in the Confederation; and the country-folk, who complained bitterly of the reaction, were prepared at the first opportunity to answer the call of these Liberal leaders. As the reactionary wave over Europe subsided, the heavy incubus which was oppressing Switzerland was also gradually lifted. The "Press and Foreigner Order" was not renewed in 1829. Zurich and other Cantons abolished the censorship completely. Together with the freedom of the press, publicity, as contrasted with the aristocratic principle of secrecy in state affairs, came by degrees to prevail. Romance Switzerland took the lead in this matter. Geneva published its budgets and yearly accounts from 1816 onwards; after 1821 reports of its administration were likewise published; and from 1828 onwards the press was admitted to the deliberations of the Council of Representatives. Geneva's example was followed by Vaud, but in German-speaking Switzerland views in this matter fluctuated. Foreign diplomatists noted with concern that the "spirit of innovation" was obviously gaining ground, that the revolution in certain Cantons was already taking the form of a revision of the cantonal constitutions. In 1829 the Great Council of Lucerne carried out by such means the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers. The first sweeping change was made in Ticino. Here, during the period of the Restoration, affairs had passed under the control of a corrupt oligarchy, characterised by shameless venality and nepotism. A quarrel among the rulers afforded the opportunity of putting an end to the whole unsavoury business. At the head of the reformers was the statistician Franscini, who later became a Federal Councillor. The Great Council, under the pressure of public opinion, initiated a revision of the constitution, which was profoundly transformed in the democratic sense. The revised Constitution was laid before the people, and on July 4th, 1830, was adopted by an overwhelming majority. Thus had the liberal and democratic revolution already begun in Switzerland, when an important event in the history of the world gave fresh impetus to the course of affairs.

CHAPTER XXXIII

LIBERAL AND DEMOCRATIC REGENERATION IN THE CANTONS

A FEW weeks after the vote upon the constitution had been taken in Ticino, the July Revolution broke out in Paris. As in 1792, so now, the Swiss guard fought bravely for the lost cause of the Bourbons. The immediate outcome was the discharge of all Swiss troops in France; and for practical purposes this brought foreign service to an end, for in 1829 Holland had disbanded her Swiss regiments as being too expensive to keep up, so that only the capitulations with Naples remained in force. In Switzerland, without any direct influence from France, the July Revolution, by example alone, gave the first real impulse to the democratic movement. Huge assemblies of the people, the most imposing being that of Uster in the Canton of Zurich on November 22nd, 1830, demanded the recognition of the principle of popular sovereignty, and great change in the cantonal constitutions that should establish new Great Councils or Constitutional Councils directly elected by a popular vote. In the Cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Solothurn, St Gall and Thurgau, such mass demonstrations proved sufficient to move the alarmed governments and Great Councils to yield. In Aargau, Vaud, Fribourg and Schaffhausen, armed and undisciplined processions of the country-folk were able without bloodshed to compel the capital towns to accept the movement. The Bernese patricians were inclined to intervene with repressive measures, not only in their own Canton but, using the position of Bern as Vorort, throughout the whole Confederation. On December 27th, 1830, however, the Diet, under the leadership of Zurich, refused to allow any Federal interference with the cantonal constitutional reforms, so long as these reforms involved no breach of the peace. When, in the Bernese Jura, disturbances broke out, and when, on January 10th, 1831, an assembly of the people in Münsingen, near Bern, with threats demanded that the government should appoint a date for the summoning of a council to prepare a constitution, the proud Bernese

patriciate gave way also, and permitted the democratic stream to take its course.

The new cantonal constitutions of 1830–31, in all of which (with the exception of that of Fribourg) the consent of the people was recognised as the ultimate basis of law, established representative democracy as the prevailing form of government in Switzerland. The people was regarded as sovereign, but could display its authority in two ways only—by the acceptance or rejection of the constitution, and by the direct or indirect election of its representatives in the Great Council, the basis of representation being apportioned to the population, or approximately so. In St Gall alone the people had, in addition, the right of the so-called veto, that is to say, the right of protesting against the decisions of the Great Council. The property qualification was abolished almost everywhere. The Great Councils, elected for a limited period, passed laws, decided upon taxes, named the members of government and of the upper courts of justice, supervised the entire administration, and exercised the cantonal vote in Federal affairs. The new constitutions guaranteed the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial powers, freedom of public debate, freedom of the press, freedom in matters of religion, freedom of trade, the right of petition, and protection against arbitrary arrest; it forbade the use of force to procure evidence, and so on. Finally, it was made legally possible to amend the constitution whenever necessary.

In the Cantons thus "regenerated" a keen spirit of emulation was aroused to build up the State on a Liberal foundation, to improve the administration and the judiciary, to liberate trade and commerce from all restrictions, to construct roads and other public works, and, above all, to raise the standard of education, which the new constitutions declared to be one of the principal duties of the State. Elementary schools were entirely reformed, universal compulsory education was systematically enforced, and seminaries for teachers were founded. Higher education shared likewise in this general transformation; secondary schools were better organised, and in 1833–4 the high schools of Zurich and Bern, which had been founded during the Reformation, were raised to the status of fully-equipped universities.

Though the revolution of the year 1830 took place peacefully in the majority of the Cantons, yet in one matter it led to continued

troubles, and even to civil strife. In the Canton of Basel, the existing authorities spontaneously undertook a revision of the constitution which did not satisfy the country-folk because, under the proposed new arrangement, the town still possessed a preponderant influence in the Great Council. A first armed rising of the people was suppressed without much trouble by the government troops on January 13th, 1831; and the revised constitution was put into force. But when prosecutions were instituted against the leaders of the country-folk, the disturbances broke out anew. A second despatch of government troops, this time to Liesthal, the headquarters of the disturbance, ended, on August 21st, in a victory for the insurgents. Not even the occupation of the Canton of Basel by Federal troops could succeed in re-establishing order in the distracted Canton, especially since the Diet was itself divided concerning the right of the Confederation to undertake a resolute intervention. When the Federal authorities refused to agree to the unconditional maintenance of a constitution hated by the country-folk, the Great Council, on February 22nd, 1832, withdrew the exercise of all administrative powers from forty-six refractory communes, so as to hand them over to anarchy and to reduce them to obedience. The only result of this unwise step was to lead the ostracised communes to constitute themselves, on March 17th, into an independent cantonal division, the rural half-Canton of Basel. All attempts on the part of the Diet to prevent the secession were rendered futile by the obstinacy of both parties; and nothing remained but to recognise the separation provisionally, subject to the possibility of ultimate reunion. This recognition was effected on September 14th, 1832, each part of the Canton receiving in the interim a half-vote in the Diet as in the case of the two Unterwaldens and the two divisions of Appenzell.

Similar dissensions threatened to divide the Canton of Schwyz, the new outlying districts of which declared that, since Old Schwyz stoutly refused to concede them legal equality, in future they would set up an independent half-Canton to be known as "Outer Schwyz." This decision was taken at a great popular assembly held at Einsiedeln on April 15th, 1832. A third thorn in the side of the Confederation was Neuchâtel. With every strengthening of Swiss national feeling and of democratic aims and forms, the anomalous position of this Canton became more and more unnatural. Though

the ruling aristocracy considered allegiance to the king of Prussia as its first duty and received its instructions from Berlin, the energetic inhabitants of the watch-making villages in the mountains felt themselves, in their longing for democratic freedom, increasingly akin to Switzerland, and desired only to form part of that land. Modifications of the constitution, which were granted by the king, no longer sufficed to satisfy the republicans of Neuchâtel; by a *coup de main* on September 13th, 1831, they seized the castle, the seat of the prince's government. An appeal was made by this government to the Swiss Diet, which, fearing foreign complications, despatched troops to Neuchâtel, and persuaded the republicans, under promise of an amnesty, to make their submission. But the amnesty was not faithfully observed; the republicans again took up arms, but were overcome by the Neuchâtelois government without any further aid from the Confederation. A court-martial then pronounced fourteen sentences of death, which the king commuted into imprisonment for life; others were condemned to banishment, penal servitude, the pillory, whipping, etc.

These disturbances in Basel, Inner Schwyz and Neuchâtel created the greatest excitement throughout Switzerland. While the Conservatives and Ultramontanes were rejoiced that the democratic movement had completely failed in regard to the city of Basel, Inner Schwyz and Neuchâtel, and while they hoped that foreign intervention would completely dam the movement, the sympathies of the Liberals and Radicals went out to the rural half-Canton of Basel, to Outer Schwyz and to the Neuchâtelois republicans. Bands of volunteers from other Cantons, which wished to render them assistance, were with difficulty prevented from carrying out their intentions. One symptom of the feverish excitement was that the different parties amalgamated, as at the time of the Reformation, to form definite separate Leagues. The refusal of some of the clerical Cantons to accept the Liberal constitutions of 1831 under Federal guarantees was made the pretext for the seven Liberal Cantons, Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Solothurn, St Gall, Aargau and Thurgau, to secure by means of a "Concordat" (concluded on March 17th, 1832) protection for their new constitutions against high-handed attempts at destruction. The Liberal "Concordat of the Seven" was soon faced by a Conservative league of far more sinister character. In November, 1832, a conference was called by the city

of Basel, Neuchâtel, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, to meet at Sarnen. This conference declared that the Diet's recognition of the partition of the Canton of Basel was a breach of the Federal constitution, and it refused to participate in any Diet to which representatives from the rural district of Basel, or from Outer Schwyz were admitted. When, in March, 1833, the Vorort, Zurich, summoned an extraordinary Diet to discuss a proposed revision of the Federal constitution, the "League of Sarnen" carried its threat into effect; a rival Diet was constituted in Schwyz which declared that the decisions of the Diet in Zurich should not be considered valid. This declaration was especially aimed at the proposals for Federal reform, a draft of which had already been prepared.

The experiences which Switzerland had gained with regard to the Federal Pact of 1815 had been unfavourable. Only too frequently had the Diet and the Vorort proved incompetent to protect the honour and the interests of the country against interference from without and against the particularist spirit from within. The Diet resembled the German *Bundestag* of Frankfort in its wearisome delays over the business in hand, in the fact that its delegates were strictly bound by the instructions of their principals, and in its incapacity to bring forth anything of use to the community; before it could decide any point, it was necessary that twelve cantonal Great Councils or popular assemblies should first come to agreement. The Vorort was, in the first place, a cantonal government which regarded Federal affairs as a troublesome addition of work to be got through as quickly as possible, and to be joyfully relinquished when the two years had expired. There could be no question of stability, broad-mindedness, and grasp of affairs, in this nomadic Federal government, quite apart from the fact that its power was confined within the narrowest limits. The lack of an efficient central authority made itself most conspicuously felt in respect of the material welfare of the country—in the terrible confusion of the coinage; in the defects of the postal system; in the chaotic condition of the customs-dues, which seemed designed only to place pitfalls in the way of internal trade, but which proved utterly ineffective to protect Swiss economic interests against foreign competition. It was significant of such conditions that St Gall preferred to send its wares to Lyons by the circuitous Strassburg route rather than by the direct road through Geneva; that the Genevese

sent their goods for Milan and Genoa over the Stelvio Pass by way of Austria (a detour of from 90 to 120 miles) rather than over the Swiss mountain roads, and that a letter from Geneva to eastern Switzerland should cost more than one from Constantinople to Geneva. And what an ignominy for the "free" Swiss that he was denied the right of settling wherever he pleased upon the 16,000 square miles of his native country because this most natural of all rights was still refused by the narrow spirit of certain Cantons.

On the collapse of the Restoration system, Liberal newspapers and pamphlets (among which, alike by its contents and its influence, the most prominent was the *Zuruf*, edited by the lawyer Casimir Pfyffer of Lucerne) laid stress on the urgent need for strengthening the Federal central authority, and, as the next chief aim of Liberal statesmanship, upon the transformation of the federation of States into a Federal State. In 1831, the Canton of Thurgau brought a formal motion before the Diet proposing the revision of the Federal constitution, and, on July 17th, 1832, the principle of this proposal was accepted by fifteen and a half Cantons. A commission of revision appointed by the Diet and placed under the presidency of Eduard Pfyffer, mayor of Lucerne, drafted a scheme whereby military training, customs, postal service and coinage were to be centralised, freedom of settlement was to be guaranteed, a permanent Federal council of five members sitting in Lucerne and a Federal court of justice were to be established. This scheme retained the Diet as supreme Federal authority, and each Canton was to have an equal voice; but the delegates to the Diet were in future to be bound by instructions only in what concerned alliances, war and peace, revision of the Federal constitution, and a few other matters; in everything else they were to vote according to their own free judgment.

In spite of the extreme care to safeguard the principle of Federalism, the scheme was fiercely opposed by Conservatives and Ultramontanes. Not only did the members of the Sarnen League hold that no change in the Federal Pact could be accepted without the unanimous vote of all the twenty-two Cantons, but the same view was taken by Zug, Appenzell, Ticino and Valais. That is to say, since such unanimity could presumably never be attained, they contested from the outset the right of the Diet to revise the constitution at all. This disagreement over the question of revision was

all the more ominous in that it coincided with designs on the part of foreign Powers to intervene. The democratic transformation of the cantonal constitutions had already been looked upon with disfavour by the conservative eastern Powers; but, when a revision of the Federal Pact was proposed, Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, resolved to interfere. He could not but admit that the treaties of 1815 contained no guarantee that the Federal Pact should not be modified; but he salved his conscience with the sophism that Switzerland would forfeit the advantages secured to her in 1815 should she renounce her old character of a league of sovereign States and accept the control of a centralised administration. A memorial, issued from Vienna on June 5th, 1832, urged the Great Powers, together with Sardinia, to make common cause against Switzerland. Prussia and Russia fell in with this idea; in London and Paris, however, no objections were raised to the very moderate proposals of the commission of revision, which had been elucidated in a brilliant report by Pellegrino Rossi, subsequently minister in the service of Pope Pius IX, and at this time Genevese delegate to the Diet and member of the commission of revision. Metternich therefore for a while held his hand, and meanwhile encouraged the Sarnen League in its opposition.

The Diet in Zurich, when preparing the final draft of the constitutional proposal, in the spring of 1833, watered it down still more, regarded as an instrument to centralise the Federal power. Yet even then a bare majority of twelve cantonal votes was all that could be counted on, since even Aargau and Vaud somewhat unexpectedly joined forces with the opposition. Among those favourable to the proposal should have been Lucerne, whose acquiescence no one doubted, for the constitution had assigned to that town the honour of being the seat of the Federal government. Already the Great Council of the Canton had accepted the proposal almost unanimously, subject to a referendum, when the unforeseen occurred. Influenced by the clergy, the people of Lucerne, on July 7th, 1833, rejected the proposal by 11,000 votes to 7000, thereby relegating Federal reform to the lumber-room for many years to come.

This overwhelming defeat of the Liberals encouraged the members of the Sarnen League in an attempt to bring the separated half-Cantons to heel by force of arms. On July 31st, 1833, Inner Schwyz seized Küssnacht on the lake of Lucerne, a village belonging to

Outer Schwyz; and on August 3rd, Basel undertook a descent upon Liesthal, the capital of the rural district. But the men of rural Basel offered such stout resistance at Pratteln that the city troops were obliged to retreat to Basel, leaving sixty-three dead upon the field. The Diet, under pressure of public opinion, which had been outraged by this breach of the peace, displayed more than its usual energy. It immediately occupied Schwyz and the town of Basel with 20,000 men. The rural Diet in Schwyz was dispersed by the Federal soldiers, who were not recalled until the relations of the two Cantons had been definitely adjusted. By the recognition of equality before the law, the two half-Cantons in Schwyz were reunited; but in Basel, where the bloody affray had created fanatical hatred between town and country, such reconciliation was impossible, and the partition was definitely effected. In relation to the Confederation, however, the town of Basel and rural Basel constituted but one Canton similar to the two half-Cantons of Unterwalden and of Appenzell; if they could not agree upon a united vote in the Diet, their vote was null. The Sarnen League was dissolved, as contrary to the Federal Pact; and its members were constrained to send representatives again to the Diet. The most refractory district was Neuchâtel, whose officials in Berlin were even contemplating the separation of Neuchâtel from Switzerland. When, however, the Diet showed itself prepared to invade Neuchâtel with 6000 men, the principality likewise submitted; and the dissensions which had rent Switzerland were for the time being patched up, while, owing to the collapse of the projected Federal reform, there was no occasion for the intervention planned by Metternich.

Yet for such intervention abundant excuse was offered to the foreign Cabinets by the fact that crowds of refugees from Poland, Germany and Italy, who had fled from their countries after ill-fated revolutions, had met together upon hospitable Swiss soil; and the heavy hand of the foreigner made itself felt in the country. During these conflicts, the Swiss manifested an ever-growing sensitiveness for their honour and independence. The complaints of the Powers were not always without foundation; for example, the invasion of Savoy in February, 1834, by Poles coming from Swiss territory, instigated by Mazzini, was a gross breach of international law. On the other hand, a grave contradiction was involved in that while the Powers made it a reproach to Switzerland that her police

supervision of the political refugees was so defective, at the same time they deprived her of the only means available to set her house in order, namely the establishment of a vigorous centralised authority. The government of the bourgeois king of France rivalled even Austria in its lordly disregard of the independence of Switzerland. In the autumn of 1838, when Louis Philippe had demanded the banishment of Prince Louis Napoleon, just made an honorary citizen of Thurgau, and the request had been refused, the French government threatened war; and it was only the voluntary withdrawal of the prince to England which prevented a conflict.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE SONDERBUND WAR

Party differences within Switzerland were aggravated by religious disputes. In a conference held at Baden in January, 1834, the governments of Bern, Lucerne, Solothurn, rural Basel, St Gall, Aargau and Thurgau, drew up a Concordat for the maintenance of the rights of the State as regards the Church. These "Articles of Baden," condemned by the Pope as "false, audacious, reeking of heresy, and schismatic," were rejected in 1835 in St Gall through the veto of the people; while Bern, owing to a rising in the Catholic Jura, stirred up by French influence, did not venture to maintain the Concordat, so that the only result of the affair was to stimulate the bigotry of the Catholic masses. In the Protestant Canton of Zurich, when Dr David Strauss of Würtemberg, author of the celebrated *Life of Jesus*, was appointed professor of dogmatics and ecclesiastical history in the theological Faculty of the University, such a storm of disapprobation was aroused among the orthodox clergy and the country-folk under their influence, that, on September 6th, 1839, thousands of peasants led by Pastor Bernard Hirzel and well armed, marched on the town, which made common cause with them. Strauss's appointment was cancelled owing to the popular excitement. The Liberal government resigned and was replaced by a Conservative government.

After this *Zürcher Putsch* (Zurich riot) the whole public life of Switzerland threatened to fall a prey to turbulent disorder, to become dominated, as it were, by physical force. In Ticino, the Radicals hastened to follow the example set by the Zurich Conservatives, forcibly overthrowing a clerical government in December, 1839. In Aargau, however, an attempted rising by the Ultramontanes against the Liberal government, on January 11th, 1841, failed; and the Great Council of Aargau adopted the proposal of Augustine Keller, principal of the training college, to suppress the eight monasteries in the Canton, on the ground that the disturbance had been instigated by them. But this suppression of the monas-

teries was an infringement of the guarantees provided in the Federal Pact. The clerical Cantons consequently made a demand that the monasteries should forthwith be re-established by the Diet, under threat of the employment of force if needful. The intervention was rendered all the more weighty because in Lucerne in May, 1841, the Ultramontanes, led by Siegwart-Müller, the State Secretary, and a peasant demagogue named Josef Leu, had by legal means wrested the government from the Liberals, after they had been in power for eleven years, so that this Canton was now, what it had been once before in the sixteenth century, an ultramontane Vorort. On the other hand, the objection raised by Aargau, that the guarantee of the monasteries could never have been intended to be unconditional, was strongly supported by Liberal Switzerland. Bern threatened to render armed assistance to Aargau should force be employed by one side on behalf of the restoration of the monasteries. For several years this question was in suspense, until in 1843 Aargau agreed to the re-establishment of the four nunneries, whereupon the majority in the Diet declared the incident closed.

But the Ultramontane Cantons were not satisfied. Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg and Valais protested against the "breach of the Federal Pact" perpetrated by the majority. In a conference which all these Cantons (Valais excepted) held in Lucerne on September 13th and 14th, 1843, Siegwart-Müller, who had now become mayor, went so far as to propose the secession of those Estates which had remained "faithful to the Federal Pact," the appointment of a permanent council of war, and military preparations. Although these proposals were not fully carried into effect, the foundations were laid for a clerical *Sonderbund* (Separate League), which, in 1844, was joined by Valais also, after the clericals in this Canton had defeated the Liberals in a regular civil war.

At the Diet of 1844, these dissentient Cantons renewed their demand that all the monasteries should be reinstated in Aargau; but Aargau countered by a demand for the expulsion of the Jesuits, whose recall to Lucerne was at this time being urged by the extreme Ultramontanes under Siegwart-Müller and Leu. Thus, the monastic question became unexpectedly transformed into a Jesuit question; and the clerical Cantons, from having been the attacking, became the defending parties. The Diet endeavoured to maintain peace by

declaring the monastic question settled once for all, and at the same time by refusing to decree the expulsion of the Jesuits. The result was that on October 24th, 1844, the Great Council of Lucerne was able to pass a resolution handing over to the Jesuits the control of the higher educational institutions in the Canton, although even good Catholics declared this to be "the beginning of incalculable evils." The Liberals of Lucerne regarded the step as a breach of the constitution, and hoped that some of the other Cantons would assist them in an attempt to effect the forcible overthrow of the Jesuit régime. A first "volunteer campaign," begun on December 8th, 1844, failed in its inception. A second attempt, organised on a somewhat larger scale by the former councillor of state, Dr Robert Steiger of Lucerne, and led by staff-captain Ulrich Ochsenbein of Bern, proved equally disastrous. On March 31st, 1845, the volunteers had pushed forward close to Lucerne, but beat a panic retreat in the night, and sustained a sanguinary defeat at Malters. More than a hundred of the volunteers were killed, and 1900 taken prisoners. Steiger was one of the prisoners, and was condemned to death, but saved his life by breaking out of prison. Partisan feeling rose to such a height that Leu, the principal instigator of the recall of the Jesuits, was treacherously shot by one of the volunteers.

Notwithstanding the lamentable failure of the volunteer campaigns, the mass of the Swiss nation became more and more firmly convinced that the permanent establishment of the Order of Jesus in one of the three Vororts would be a national disaster. The Anti-Jesuit movement raged ever more furiously throughout the land; but now the attempt was made to secure the desired end by legal measures, by a decision of the Diet. In Vaud, the authorities, hesitating to give orders for the expulsion of the Jesuits, had on February 14th, 1845, to yield before a popular rising, and to give place to men of Radical views. In Zurich, the Conservatives lost the confidence of the people by coquetting with the Ultramontanes; two days after the butchery at Malters the Liberals gained control of the government in a new election. As if to show scorn of European diplomacy, which had expressed its strong condemnation of the volunteer campaigns, in Bern, in July, 1846, the former volunteer general, Ochsenbein, with others of his way of thinking, were made heads of the government, Ochsenbein becoming Federal vice-

president and future Federal president, for at New Year, 1847, Bern would assume office as Vorort.

On the other hand, the seven clerical Cantons now formally combined on December 11th, 1845, to constitute formally a "league of protection," by which they opposed themselves as an armed "Sonderbund" to the rest of Switzerland, the league being governed by a common council of war, whose chief was Siegwart-Müller. In contradistinction to the aim, at a later date, of the Confederate States of North America, there was in view here, not so much a genuine secession from the Confederation as an attempt to master it, and a resistance to "improper Federal resolutions." The first objects were to re-establish the monasteries in Aargau, to hinder the expulsion of the Jesuits, and to prevent the revision of the Federal constitution which was continually being proposed by the Liberals. The seven Cantons, whose population comprised one-fifth of that of Switzerland, claimed the right of being the sole interpreter of the Federal Pact, of opposing by force of arms any decision of a Federal majority in the Diet which did not please them, and, with this aim, of accepting foreign assistance. It was impossible for the Confederation to tolerate the existence of this Federation within the Federation, with its continual threats of physical force and of treason. Even if the Federal constitution had not contained an express prohibition of unions among the separate Cantons which might be injurious to the whole, the dissolution of the Sonderbund was absolutely essential to save Switzerland from political extinction.

When the proceedings of the Great Council of Fribourg during June, 1846, made known to the world the existence of the Sonderbund, which had hitherto been kept secret, Zurich, as Vorort for the year, made a formal protest, and demanded of the Diet which met in July that the Sonderbund should be dissolved. But Zurich's proposal was supported by no more than ten votes, whilst twelve votes were needed for a valid majority. The half-votes of rural Basel and Appenzell Outer Rhoden, which were in favour of the dissolution, were cancelled by the counter-votes of Basel town and Appenzell Inner Rhoden. But at this juncture an eleventh vote was secured when, on October 8th, 1846, the Genevese Radicals, led by the journalist, James Fazy, threw up barricades in the streets, forcibly overthrew the Conservative government, and maintained the upper hand in the new elections that followed. Finally, in May, 1847, the

twelfth vote was obtained, for in the "fateful Canton" (*Schicksalskanton*) of St Gall, on the occasion of the re-election of the Great Council, the Liberals secured a small majority.

In July, 1847, the Diet met in Bern under the presidency of Ochsenbein, and now took the decisive resolutions. On July 20th, with a majority composed of $12\frac{1}{2}$ votes, it declared that the Sonderbund was dissolved, and on the 30th, appointed a "committee of seven" for the discussion of the measures required to execute this decision. On August 16th, by 13 votes, the resumption of the work of revising the Federal constitution was decreed; and on September 3rd, the expulsion of the Jesuits was decided on by $12\frac{2}{2}$ votes. In the camp of the Sonderbund there was no thought of yielding. Its adherents armed to the teeth, prepared fortifications and trenches, and had the greatest hopes of foreign aid.

Events in Switzerland from 1844 to 1847 were not mere local quarrels, but formed part of the great struggle of ideals then in progress throughout Europe, the prelude to the revolution of 1848; and therefore, alike to the nations of Europe, and to their rulers, Switzerland was a subject of the most anxious interest. With rare unanimity the Continental Powers took the side of the Sonderbund, regarding this as the embodiment of the Conservative principle. The Austrian chancellor, the clearly indicated guardian of that principle, was so early as 1845 endeavouring to move the Powers to make a common intervention in Switzerland, for the "salvation" of that country, which was "threatened with social dissolution." As in 1832, Metternich found an excuse for intervention in the treaties of 1815, which were based upon the undiminished sovereignty of the twenty-two Cantons, whereas this sovereignty was continually being infringed by the Radicals. Intervention was ardently favoured by the imaginative Frederick William IV of Prussia, who wrote to Bunsen, his ambassador in London, saying that in the case of Switzerland the Great Powers need not trouble themselves at all about justice or injustice; the only question was whether the godless and lawless sect of Radicals was going to gain dominion over Switzerland through murder, blood and tears, and thus make the country a focus of infection for Germany, Italy and France. Metternich could count also upon Russia. As far as France was concerned, Louis Philippe and Guizot extended to the Swiss Liberals the hatred they felt for the Radical opposition in their own

land. The minor courts, such as Sardinia, followed the example of the greater. In the autumn of 1846, when Bernard Meyer, state secretary of Lucerne, was sent abroad by the Sonderbund, to procure money and arms for the approaching struggle, he secured 2000 rifles in Turin, while Austria made a loan without interest of 100,000 gulden, and arranged for Radetzky to send arms and ammunition to Lucerne, most of which, however, were seized in Ticino. In December, 1846, numerous cannon and muskets with round shot and grape-shot were despatched by France from Strassburg to Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri and Lucerne, as "merchandise"; a subsequent consignment to Fribourg was seized by the Republicans in the Neuchâtelois Jura, to the profound disgust of their princely government. The Sonderbund also wished to be supplied with an Austrian general. In 1846, Metternich did actually send Prince Schwarzenberg to Lucerne; and the general had already begun to draw up a plan of operations, when he was suddenly recalled, not to return until after the Sonderbund war had broken out, nor even then to assume the command.

The more threatening the danger to the Sonderbund became, the more busily at work on its behalf was European diplomacy. By good fortune, however, it proved a very difficult matter to secure concerted action among the Great Powers, especially as Austria and France were inspired by profound distrust in respect of one another's proposals for armed intervention. The difficulties in the way of common action were yet further increased by England, for whose co-operation both France and Prussia pressed. The British Cabinet was the only one which exhibited a sympathetic understanding of the national aims of Liberal Switzerland. In the admirable letters which George Grote, author of the great *History of Greece*, who was at this time staying in Switzerland, communicated to the *Spectator* concerning Swiss affairs, these were described in a light very different from that in which they were viewed by the official press of Germany and France. Moreover, Lord Palmerston was delighted to have an opportunity of paying out France for the Spanish marriages and Austria for the annexation of Cracow. On principle he was opposed to any intervention in Switzerland, but he adopted a course of action far more effective than mere holding aloof. By apparently acceding to the desires of the other cabinets he most adroitly secured for himself the leadership of the anti-

Swiss movement, being thus enabled to blunt its point and to delay it until it was too late.

While the five Great Powers were discussing methods of intervention, and while Austria was provisionally advancing 10,000 men towards the Swiss frontier, the Federal majority took its own course undisturbed by the threats of the foreign envoys. The twelve Cantons which had voted for the dissolution of the Sonderbund, now went further, and issued instructions (although this could not have been taken as a matter of course) that the decision was to be carried into effect by force of arms. While Federal representatives visited each one of the seven Cantons to do everything that could be done by peaceful means, but without effecting anything, the Diet on October 21st, 1847, appointed as general the most distinguished officer in Switzerland, Guillaume Henri Dufour, of Geneva, and by successive votes, placed at his disposal an army of 100,000 men with 260 guns. Most of the Cantons displayed so much zeal in the affair that the mobilisation of these forces was effected with a speed and completeness which astonished the foreign cabinets. Only Appenzell Inner Rhoden and Neuchâtel refused to obey the mobilisation order of the Diet, Neuchâtel declaring herself neutral, but in reality, at Prussian instigation, secretly intriguing with the Sonderbund. The force at the disposal of the latter comprised 79,000 men and 74 guns, but one-half of the troops were valueless *Landsturm*; their commander-in-chief was Salis-Soglio of the Grisons, a Protestant and a Conservative.

On October 29th, 1847, the delegates of the secessionist Cantons quitted the Diet in Bern; on November 4th the Diet passed the resolution for carrying out its decision; and the campaign began. Dufour's simple but effective strategy was to deal successively with the three separate masses into which the Sonderbund was divided—Fribourg, Lucerne with the Forest Cantons, and Valais; and to attack in each case with a superior force. In a few days, the Fribourg army, comprising 25,000 men, had been surrounded, and capitulated on November 14th, practically without a struggle. Dufour, paying no attention to raids made by the Sonderbund into Aargau on November 12th, and into Ticino on November 17th, tranquilly pursued his design, setting the centre and the right wing of his army in motion against Lucerne in five converging columns, in order to deliver a deadly onslaught against the very heart of the

Sonderbund. Zug capitulated on November 21st, even before these operations had been begun. Dufour directed the main attack upon the wooded heights between the Reuss and the lake of Zug, Lucerne's natural line of fortification, occupied in force by Salis-Soglio. On November 23rd the divisions of Gmür and Siegler mastered this position, after skirmishes at Meierskappel, Honau and Gislikon, whilst Ochsenbein's division opened a way through the Entlebuch by an engagement at Schüpfheim.

This one defeat effected the complete disorganisation of the Sonderbund. So early as the evening of November 23rd, the council of war, the government of Lucerne, and the Jesuits, fled to Uri. Next day the victors entered Lucerne. On November 25th Unterwalden submitted, on the 26th Schwyz, on the 27th Uri, and on the 29th Valais, all permitting the entrance of Federal troops without further resistance. In this campaign of twenty-five days, the Federal army had lost 78 men killed and 260 wounded; the losses on the side of the Sonderbund were stated at a still lower figure. The aims of the philanthropic Dufour, who had desired to end the war as speedily as possible by mere demonstrations, had been completely fulfilled. This Swiss War of Secession (*Sonderbundskreig*), when its rapid and almost bloodless course is considered, and even allowing for the difference of scale, offers the most striking contrast possible to the great War of Secession in the United States, which lasted five years (1861–65) and cost half a million lives. In Switzerland, from the first, the Cantons faithful to the Confederation had the advantage not merely of numbers, but also of superior organisation and leadership. But above all, the Sonderbund lacked any profound ideal or material interest which could induce its adherents to stake their lives upon the issue. The secessionists, despite all the declamations of their ecclesiastical and temporal leaders, could not fail to recognise that neither their beliefs nor their liberties were in danger, but at most their stubborn pride; and for this reason their flickering enthusiasm was speedily extinguished.

The secessionist governments were everywhere forced to resign; in Fribourg, Lucerne and Valais, the Liberals came into power. The secessionist Cantons had to pay the costs of the war. Neuchâtel and Appenzell Inner Rhoden were also punished for the non-fulfilment of their Federal duties, the former having to pay 300,000 francs, and the latter 15,000 francs, these sums being devoted to

the maintenance of the widows and orphans of the slain. In proportion, as order was restored in the secessionist Cantons, and as guarantees were given for the payment of the war indemnity, the Federal garrisons were gradually withdrawn, the evacuation being completed by the end of February, 1848.

The foreign aid for which Siegwart-Müller had formally appealed had not been forthcoming. Thanks to the carefully calculated procrastinations of Palmerston, it was not until November 30th that the French envoy was able to hand in the joint note in which the Great Powers offered their mediation. Austria, Russia and Prussia followed suit, while England held aloof, since the offer of mediation had now become superfluous. Such also was the view which found expression in the answer made by the Diet on December 7th, when at the same time all intervention of foreign countries in the internal affairs of Switzerland, whose independence had been formally recognised since 1815, was rejected on principle. Genuine independence, indeed, had now first been won back by Switzerland through the courage with which she had disregarded the threats of intervention on the part of the Continental Powers. The Sonderbund protected by these Powers had been very quickly overthrown, and the internal affairs of the country had been settled by Switzerland in accordance with her own desires, undismayed by all remonstrances. Thus, the War of Secession signified the final liberation of Switzerland from the foreign yoke which had oppressed her since 1798, and signified her re-entry into the ranks of genuinely independent European States.

It now remained to carry through the proposed task of Federal reform, and thus to secure the permanent fruit of the immense energies which had been expended. Once more the Great Powers of the Continent, which had now made up their minds to dispense with English aid, endeavoured to interfere with the designs of Switzerland. At Christmas, 1847, Colloredo and Radowitz arrived in Paris as special plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia respectively, and came to an understanding with Guizot that a note should be sent demanding from the "twelve Cantons" the evacuation of the secessionist Cantons. The twelve Cantons were to disarm, and were to renounce any attempt to alter the Federal Pact, without the unanimous approval of the twenty-two Cantons. A conference of the Great Powers, the Germanic Confederation,

and Sardinia, was to assemble in Neuchâtel to deal with Swiss affairs. Should the aforesaid demands be rejected by the Diet, forcible measures were proposed. A memorial by Radowitz suggested that these should take the form of recall of the foreign envoys, the closing of the frontiers to all trade, the establishment of armies of observation, and, if such methods should not suffice, the occupation of Ticino by Austria, of rural Basel by Prussia and the South German States, of the Bernese Jura by France, and of Geneva by Sardinia. In virtue of the arrangement thus made in Paris, on January 18th, 1848, the envoys of the three powers assembled at Neuchâtel, and despatched to the Swiss Diet a minatory collective note; while on February 1st (13th) Russia suspended the guarantee for Swiss neutrality and inviolability in order to leave the neighbour Powers a free hand against Switzerland. On February 15th, the Diet, holding firmly to its position, made a dignified rejoinder, intimating its decisive refusal of all foreign intervention.

Guizot, Colloredo and Radowitz, were already discussing further steps to be undertaken on March 15th against refractory Switzerland, when a lamentable close was put to all these intrigues by the February revolution. This broke out in Neuchâtel itself, in the very place in which European diplomacy had proposed to hold its high assize over Switzerland. When news arrived of what had happened in Paris, republican committees were formed in La Chaux-de-fonds, Locle, and the Val de Travers. The princely government begged for help from the Vorort Bern; but Ochsenbein, instead of assisting the anti-Swiss aristocracy, encouraged the Neuchâtelois Republicans by sending them a note containing merely the two words, *en avant*! On March 1st, 1848, their armed forces moved towards the capital, overthrew the princely Council of State, and established a provisional government, which proclaimed the republic. A special council drafted a democratic constitution for the young Free State. On April 30th, this was sanctioned by the Neuchâtel people by 5800 against 4400 votes, and was accepted by the Diet which granted it the Federal guarantee. King Frederick William IV, who in Berlin was himself threatened by the revolution, let Neuchâtel go her own way, but the Diet failed to profit by the favourable moment at which he might have been induced to renounce his rights.

BOOK VI

SWITZERLAND AS A FEDERAL STATE AFTER 1848

CHAPTER XXXV

UNDER THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1848

THE European revolutionary storm of 1848, to which the Swiss War of Secession had been the prelude, gave Switzerland leisure to carry out the work of Federal reform, freed from all fear of foreign intervention. A committee of revision appointed by the Diet, of which Ochsenbein was president, while Kern of Thurgau and Druey of Vaud acted as draftsmen, prepared the new constitution between February 17th and April 8th. Two conflicting tendencies were at work in the deliberations. The decentralising tendency was represented by the small Cantons, which desired to restrict the revision as much as possible, and which insisted before all that every Canton should possess the same voting power in the Diet; the centralising tendency was represented by the bigger Cantons, which wished the Swiss people to be regarded as a whole, desiring that the Diet as at present constituted should be replaced by one representing the Cantons in proportion to their respective populations, and competent to deliberate and act in the name of the Swiss nation. Public opinion, supported by the majority on the committee of revision, sought a middle course. So early as 1832, Troxler, the Lucerne philosopher, had drawn attention to the bicameral system of the United States of North America as the only means by which the conflicting claims of the greater and the smaller Cantons might be reconciled; and subsequently James Fazy of Geneva, and Executive Councillor Rüttimann of Zurich, had cordially advocated this scheme in the press. In the committee of revision Landamman Munzinger of Solothurn was a specially influential advocate of the bicameral system. Serious counter-considerations were, however, brought forward. The fear was expressed that the two chambers would be continually in conflict, that they would seldom be able to come to harmonious decisions, that their antagonism would

paralyse the new Confederation, and so forth. Nevertheless, the idea speedily gained ground, and on March 23rd was adopted by the committee of revision. The Diet was to be replaced by a Federal Assembly composed of two chambers. One of these was the continuation of the Diet, renamed the *Ständerat* (Council of States), to which every Canton was to send two representatives, and every half-Canton one. Side by side with the *Ständerat* there was to be the *Nationalrat* (National Council) to represent the entire nation, its members being elected for three years, one for every 20,000 of the population. All the affairs of the Federal Assembly were to be separately discussed by the two chambers; and no Federal decision was valid until it had been accepted by both. Neither in the *Ständerat* nor in the *Nationalrat* were the members to vote according to instructions, but freely according to their personal convictions.

After this main question had been decided it was easy to come to an agreement regarding the constitution of a permanent *Bundesrat* (Federal Council), to be elected by the Federal Assembly (*i.e.* by the *Ständerat* and *Nationalrat* in joint session), and to be presided over by a *Bundespräsident* (Federal President). As the executive, this body was to replace the shifting Vorort. A *Bundesgericht* (Federal Supreme Court) was also constituted. Nor did it take long to come to an agreement regarding the powers that were to attach to the Federal authority at the expense of the Cantons. It was considered self-evident that no individual Canton could be allowed to undertake direct intercourse with foreign countries, to exercise a privilege of which the secessionist Cantons had recently made so dangerous a use. The outer world was in future to deal solely with Switzerland as a whole. Questions of war and peace, alliances, commercial and political treaties, were declared to be exclusively Federal affairs. Alike to the Confederation and to the Cantons, the conclusion of new military capitulations was prohibited, while the Cantons were forbidden to contract any political agreements one with another, thus putting an end to the formation of Sonderbunds. The Confederation guaranteed the cantonal constitutions, in so far as these were republican in character, *i.e.* directly or indirectly (by representation) democratic, and in so far as they were capable of revision by legal process. This decision involved the separation of Neuchâtel from Prussia. The new Con-

federation forbade all privileges, of place, of birth, of families, or of individuals. The cantonal and communal burghers were transformed into Swiss burghers, with full political rights, alike in Federal and in Cantonal affairs in any part of Switzerland in which they might choose to settle. The rights of free settlement and free trading were secured for every Swiss professing the Christian faith (the Jews being thus excluded from these rights). The Confederation took under its protection the right of petition, the freedom of the press, the right of forming voluntary associations, and the freedom of religion for the "recognised" Christian creeds. On the other hand, the guarantee for the monasteries was withdrawn, and settlement anywhere in Switzerland was forbidden to the Jesuits.

The Confederation received the right to undertake public works in the general interest, or to support such undertakings, and was empowered to establish a Swiss university and a technical high school. In military affairs the proposal that the army should be completely centralised gave place to one whereby the Confederation was empowered to legislate merely regarding the institution of the Federal army, and to undertake the instruction of the special arms of engineering, artillery, and cavalry, with higher instruction in all branches of the service, while the training of the infantry, the formation, arming, and equipment of the troops, and the appointment of the officers, were reserved to the Cantons. The customs-system was declared to be a Federal institution. This change was made, not only in order to secure for the Confederation a rich source of income, but also that it might be possible to abolish all internal tolls, and by the adoption of a uniform customs policy to force foreign countries to pay due regard to Swiss interests. Further, the Cantons had to hand over the control of the posts and of coinage and the regulation of weights and measures to the Confederation. To facilitate the further development of the constitution by legal means, it was specified that the constitution was subject to revision at any time, either at the proposal of the Federal Assembly, or as the outcome of a Referendum, whenever a demand for revision made by 50,000 citizens had been approved by the Swiss people. The revised Federal constitution was to come into effect as soon as it had been approved by the majority of the Swiss citizens qualified to vote and of the Cantons.

Such were the proposals of the committee of revision which,

accompanied by an admirable report from the draftsmen, Kern and Druey, were sent to the Cantons, in order to obtain their advice and instructions for the final discussion in the Diet. No more than a month could be allowed to the Cantons for consideration. War and revolution were raging around Switzerland; and it was that the new Confederation should be firmly seated in the saddle with all convenient speed, ready for every eventuality, united and well-armed. There was no lack of opposition to the scheme, since some found that it went too far, whilst for others its proposals were altogether too moderate. There was a rain of amendments from the Cantons, but the majority of the cantonal envoys were empowered to vote for the best attainable Federal scheme. On June 27th, 1848, the draft was adopted, with trifling alterations, by the majority in the Diet, and was now once more referred to the Cantons for their definitive acceptance or rejection. In September, the Diet met once more in Bern to receive the results of the vote. It then appeared that 15½ Cantons, with a population of 1,900,000 souls, had approved the proposal, while no more than 6½ Cantons with a population of 290,000 souls, had voted against it. On September 12th, 1848, the Diet declared the new constitution in force. The thunder of artillery carried the joyful tidings throughout all the land; and bonfires on the heights announced from the lake of Geneva to the lake of Constance the opening of a new era for the Swiss Confederation.

The elections to the new Federal Assembly were effected without disturbance in all the Cantons; and on November 6th the *Nationalrat* and the *Ständerat* met in Bern, the town having been gaily decorated for their reception. On November 16th the two councils proceeded to appoint the seven members of the *Bundesrat*. Those elected were Jonas Furrer of Zurich, Ochsenbein of Bern, Druey of Vaud, Munzinger of Solothurn, Frey-Herose of Aargau, Näff of St Gall, and Franscini of Ticino—almost all of them men who, during the episode of the Sonderbund troubles, had been among the real leaders of the majority constituted by the twelve Cantons. It would have been hardly possible to make a better choice, although all kinds of subsidiary considerations were involved in a State-system of so complex a character. For example, it was not provided by the constitution that the great Cantons like Zurich and Bern should necessarily be represented in the *Bundesrat*; but this was taken as

a matter of course; while it was understood, but not specified, that the three elements of the population (German, French and Italian) and the two creeds were also to be represented. Jonas Furrer was chosen first President of the Confederation. Born at Winterthur in the Canton of Zurich in the year 1805, the son of a master-locksmith, he had studied law, and had speedily become the most distinguished advocate in his native town. In 1834, the young lawyer of Winterthur was elected to the Great Council of the Canton, and thanks to his brilliant qualities he speedily obtained one after the other all the dignified offices of the republic. In 1845, he was elected burgomaster of Zurich. Skilled alike with tongue and with pen, a man of irreproachable character and keen intelligence, at once discreet, firm and resolute, he had acquired a great reputation throughout the whole Confederation. Furrer's consistent aim had been the rejuvenation of the Confederation in accordance with the demands of the Liberals, but in a strictly legal manner. In the Diet of the years 1847 and 1848, he had been the soul of that committee of seven which, as provisional *Bundesrat*, had led the Confederation in the struggle against the Sonderbund and its foreign protectors. Dr Kern of Thurgau, one of the draftsmen of the Federal constitution, was elected president of the Federal Supreme Court; but in view of the limited extent of its duties this court had not as yet a permanent staff. On prudential grounds the seat of the Federal government had not been specified in the Constitution; but when it came into force, there was no longer any reason for postponing the decision. Lucerne was excluded by its secessionist record; and a serious struggle now ensued between Zurich and Bern. Zurich made appeal to the past, to the fact that for centuries it had been the sole Vorort; but the majority of the Federal Assembly decided in favour of Bern, because the Canton of Bern was the largest and most powerful, and on account of its central situation between western and eastern Switzerland. As some compensation for Zurich, it was suggested that this town should be the seat of the Federal High School.

In active co-operation, the *Bundesrat* and the Federal Assembly now called the new institutions into life. A beginning was made with the postal system, upon which the *Bundesrat* immediately set to work, and which was organised excellently. In the beginning of the year 1850, the internal customs-dues, highway tolls and bridge

tolls were purchased by the Confederation from the Cantons, and were then abolished, and the new system of frontier tolls was established, so that it seemed as if a mountain of oppression had been lifted from Swiss commerce and industry. An end was put to the confusion of the coinage by the adoption of the French system of francs and centimes; and a unified scale of weights and measures was introduced. The recently invented electric telegraph was also adopted as a Federal undertaking; and Switzerland soon possessed a widely ramified network of telegraph wires. The new Federal authorities also recognised the enormous importance of railways, the introduction of which into Switzerland had as yet hardly begun. The *Bundesrat* invited the distinguished English engineer, Robert Stephenson, son of the talented inventor of the locomotive engine, to visit Switzerland, in order to give an expert opinion regarding the best way of constructing a system of railways throughout the country. In accordance with Stephenson's advice, the *Bundesrat* decided in favour of a system of State-built railways, in which the Cantons traversed by the lines were to co-operate with the Confederation in construction and working. Unfortunately, the great majority of the Federal Assembly, in opposition to the *Bundesrat*, decided in 1852 in favour of private construction, because the newly created Confederation did not seem to them sufficiently strong to incur pecuniary liabilities upon such a grand scale, and because each particular district hoped to secure better terms under the system of construction by private enterprise. Nevertheless, Switzerland very soon had a closely woven network of railways; and the principal collaborator in the production of this system, Alfred Escher of Zurich, succeeded in 1869 in bringing about a convention between Germany, Italy and Switzerland, in virtue of which the three States gave subsidies to a private company, rendering possible the gigantic task of tunnelling the St Gotthard, and thus creating a commercial route of extreme importance through the very heart of Switzerland. The complications in railway matters, however, characteristic of the system of private ownership, did not merely result in swallowing up an incalculable amount of private property, and in bringing numerous flourishing towns to the verge of ruin; more and more it came to be recognised as a national danger that the most important routes should be in the hands of denationalised joint-stock corporations. Consequently the conviction

gradually gained ground that State ownership of the railways was indispensable.

While the railway policy of the Confederation was thus a failure, more encouraging results were secured from the 'fifties onwards by giving financial support to the Cantons for engineering works to embank the river channels—works based on the example of what had been effected in the case of the Linth. There thus originated in Switzerland a regular rivalry between the Cantons in order to save the soil of the country from the raging waters of the mountain torrents and to reclaim the swampy regions of the lower levels. Since the constitution of the Federal State, Switzerland has expended more than 200,000,000 francs on embankment works, thus making up by its energy for the neglect of earlier times. No less vigorously did the Confederation come to the assistance of those Cantons that desired to gain mastery over the higher mountain regions by the construction of main roads. The first mountain roads built with Federal aid were those over the Brünig, the Furka, and the Oberalp passes; next came the Axen road along the bay of Uri, and the Grisons network of roads—the Schyn-, the Fluela-, the Albula-, the Berninastrasse, the Lower Engadine, and the Münsterthal. Nor did the new Confederacy neglect the furthering of intellectual interests. So early as 1851 the *Bundesrat* proposed to the Federal Assembly the foundation of a Swiss University and also of a Polytechnic school, the former to be at Zurich, the latter at Lausannel But the idea of the Swiss University succumbed in the Federa. Assembly to the jealousy of Bern, Basel, Geneva and Lausanne, which were unwilling to sacrifice their more or less celebrated academies in favour of Zurich. On the other hand, the foundation of a Federal technical High School in Zurich was agreed to; and that institution, opened in 1855, speedily became a great ornament of Switzerland.

The position of Switzerland in relation to the outer world also underwent conspicuous improvement. Defamed in former days as a centre of perpetual unrest, the country now wrung respect even from opponents by the orderly regulation of its affairs and by its manifest progress. In October, 1856, Baron von Bunsen, who had at one time been Prussian envoy in Switzerland, wrote:

During my journey through Switzerland, I found that, owing to the labours of the central authority, the country had made unexampled

progress, and had secured a position of singular well-being, these facts being admitted (even in Geneva) by all those who had formerly opposed the new constitution. The military strength of the country is not insignificant, and its leaders are men of statesmanlike understanding.

The new Federal authorities displayed a sound judgment in the rejection of all demands tending to affect the honour and the independence of the country, but at the same time, by a correct and consistent police supervision of refugees, they were able to avoid giving neighbour States any reasonable ground for complaint. The only gloomy point on the horizon remained the relations of Neuchâtel to Prussia. Frederick William IV, inspired by a morbid longing for his "beloved little country in the Jura, now trodden down beneath the feet of the godless," rejected all attempts on the part of the *Bundesrat* to open friendly negotiations, and in 1852 secured from the London conference the express recognition of his right to Neuchâtel, without, however, for the moment, taking any further steps in the matter. But, in the autumn of 1856, Count Pourtalès-Steiger, with the king's foreknowledge and consent, gave the signal to the Neuchâtelois royalists for an armed counter-revolution. Before dawn on September 3rd they seized the castle in Neuchâtel, and captured the members of the Council of State. On the following day, however, the republican militia took up arms, overpowered the royalists, and took them prisoners to the number of 530.

When the *Bundesrat* instituted judicial proceedings against the originators of the disturbance, the Prussian envoy, without prejudice to any of the rights of his master, demanded the immediate liberation of the prisoners and the withdrawal of the prosecution. The *Bundesrat* had resolved, since the king could not leave "his faithful adherents" in the lurch, to make his renunciation of Neuchâtel a condition of the discharge of the accused, and therefore rejected the demand. Thereupon Frederick William IV, "with bleeding heart," applied in an autograph letter to Napoleon III, who urged the *Bundesrat* to release the prisoners unconditionally, while offering his services towards a happy solution of the dispute. Switzerland, however, was unwilling to surrender prematurely the security which her opponents' imprudence had placed in her hands. From confidential communications which Napoleon III allowed

to reach Bern, it was known, indeed, that Frederick William was prepared to renounce his claims on Neuchâtel; but confidential hints dropped by England had also given the Swiss to understand that the king desired to couple this renunciation with unacceptable conditions, conditions which would have given Prussia continued opportunities for interference. Hence the *Bundesrat* refused to accede to the suggestions of the French Emperor, thus incurring the danger of a misunderstanding with France and of warlike complications with Prussia.

In fact, on December 18th, Prussia broke off diplomatic relations with Switzerland, and on January 3rd, 1857, issued orders for mobilisation. Switzerland prepared for war, as all classes of the population were inspired by a unanimous sentiment of enthusiasm, and, provisionally, 30,000 men, under Dufour's command, were moved to the northern frontier. But neither Napoleon III nor the other Great Powers desired matters to proceed to the extremity of war. Austria made difficulties in the way of Prussia's negotiations with the South German States for the free passage of Prussian troops. Fresh proposals on the part of Napoleon III induced the *Bundesrat* to despatch Dr Kern of Thurgau, a personal acquaintance of the Emperor, to Paris. Napoleon's confidential communications to Kern at length enabled the *Bundesrat* to feel assured that Switzerland would gain all she desired by liberating the prisoners, especially as England expressed her willingness to take common action with France. For these reasons the Federal Assembly, on January 16th, 1857, resolved to withdraw the prosecution, but with the stipulation that the liberated royalists were to leave Switzerland until the matter was completely settled. On March 5th a conference of the Powers met in Paris; and on May 26th a convention was signed establishing the absolute independence of Neuchâtel from Prussia, an act which completely fulfilled the wishes of Switzerland.

In 1860, when Savoy was ceded by Sardinia to France—an event that rendered the neutrality of northern Savoy illusory, and seriously imperilled the situation of Geneva—Switzerland was less fortunate in securing a rectification of the frontier on this side. Napoleon III had given the Swiss envoy a verbal assurance of his willingness to cede the neutralised region; but when the voting as to the annexation had been completed, he declared this to be impossible. A party in Switzerland, led by Federal Councillor Stämpfli, wished to make

this a *casus belli*, but the great majority of the Federal authorities would not hear of so grave a venture; and an appeal to the signatory powers of the Vienna Congress remained fruitless. Notwithstanding this, the position of Switzerland continued to inspire general respect, as was shown by the striking success secured by the country in 1864, when, at the proposal of Switzerland, an international convention was signed in Geneva for the protection of the wounded in war, a great humanitarian work, of which Henri Dunant of Geneva was the intellectual father.

Alike in the Italian war of 1859, and in the German war of 1866, Switzerland was compelled to make a display of military force in order to protect the neutrality of the country. Still more did Switzerland suffer during the great Franco-German war of 1870–71. On two occasions large forces under the command of General Herzog had to be placed on the threatened western frontier. Towards the end of the terrible struggle, the French eastern army, under the command of General Bourbaki, was completely cut off by the Germans in Franche-Comté, and was forced, as a last resource, to save itself on February 1st, 1871, by laying down its arms on Swiss soil. Eighty-three thousand men crossed the frontier in a pitiable condition, utterly deprived of all the necessaries of life. They were speedily distributed throughout the various Cantons, and hospitably entertained until peace was signed.

From 1848 onwards, party strife in the Cantons continued; but after the introduction of the new Federal constitution this strife was with rare exceptions confined within legal limits. The most important outcome of these internal movements was the approximation of the representative democracy of the larger Cantons to the pure democracy of those Cantons in which assemblies of the people (*Landsgemeinden*) were held, owing to the introduction of the Referendum and of the popular Initiative. The name Referendum is derived from the constitutional law of the old Confederation, in which, however, the significance of the term was very different. The deputies to the Diet were accustomed to take proposals concerning which they had received no instructions from their principals *ad referendum* (that is to say, for report) to their respective cantonal authorities, whose decision on the matter they reported at the next Diet. A transitional form between this ancient Referendum and the modern popular Referendum was constituted by the long-estab-

lished Referendum in the Grisons, in accordance with which resolutions of the Grisons *Bundestag* (or, after 1803, decisions of the Great Council) did not take effect until after reference to the individual communes and approval by the majority of these. Instead of voting here in a single popular assembly, as was done in the small Cantons, the inhabitants of the Grisons gave their decision upon communal affairs in numerous village assemblies. Something of the same kind took place in Valais; but here the decision was not, properly speaking, in the hands of the people, but in that of the councils of the dizains and the communes. After 1830, even in the Cantons with representative democratic institutions, it came to be regarded as an inviolable principle that changes in the constitution must be submitted to a popular vote. The Canton of St Gall went still further than this constitutional Referendum by introducing in 1831 the Veto, in virtue of which, after a law had been promulgated by the Great Council, it was within the competence of the individual communes at any time within forty-five days to submit the proposal to a popular vote. Should the majority of those qualified to vote record their objection to the law, it was annulled. This Veto, which had been regarded as an unenviable peculiarity of the political system of St Gall, was introduced into rural Basel in 1832, into Lucerne in 1841, into Thurgau in 1849, and into Schaffhausen in 1852.

In the further development of Swiss democracy the Veto was, however, replaced by the Referendum. In 1845, Druey, president of the Council of State of Vaud, and subsequently Federal councillor, proposed that the Referendum should be obligatory for all laws and decrees in Vaud. Instead of this, however, the "facultative Referendum" was introduced, the Great Council being able to demand a popular Referendum on its own initiative, or having to do so upon the requisition of 8000 burghers. In 1858, Neuchâtel, and in 1861, Vaud, introduced the "Obligatory Financial Referendum," enacting that extensive new schemes of expenditure should be submitted to a popular vote. In 1863, rural Basel introduced the Obligatory Referendum for all laws and generally binding resolutions of the Great Council. A second popular right, which began to prevail side by side with the Referendum, was that of the "Popular Initiative," that is to say, the right of a specified number of qualified voters to propose to the people constitutional articles or new laws,

or the repeal or alteration of old laws. This Initiative first came into existence as a "Constitutional Initiative," in the sense that a specified number of burghers had the right to demand a popular vote on the question whether the constitution should be revised or not. From this simple Constitutional Initiative was distinguished the "Legislative Initiative," in virtue of which proposals for legislation, and even complete bills, might by a fraction of the people be laid before the whole for consideration. The first Cantons to adopt this Legislative Initiative were Vaud, Aargau, and rural Basel. In Vaud, in 1845, 8000 citizens (subsequently 6000) were empowered to demand a popular vote on legislative enactments; Aargau adopted the idea in 1852, 5000 citizens being sufficient; while rural Basel, which adopted the Legislative Initiative in 1863, required only 1500 citizens to set the Initiative for the alteration of laws in motion.

During the sixties, this democratic movement became stronger and more general. With the watchwords of the Referendum and the Popular Initiative, there detached itself from the great Liberal party, which was dominant in the Confederation and in most of the Cantons, a left wing or a special "democratic" party, that aimed at the same time at securing social reforms for the advantage of the lower classes of the people. A victory which this youthful democratic party secured in 1867–69 in a struggle for the revision of the constitution of the Canton of Zurich, in opposition to the Old Liberals and their leader, Alfred Escher, had a decisive influence throughout Switzerland. In the Zurich constitution of 1869, the new rights of the people found typical expression. By this constitution, the legislative enactments of the cantonal council had to be submitted to a popular vote every spring and every autumn; in urgent cases, the cantonal council could demand an extraordinary vote. The people had also to be consulted regarding all annually recurring items of expenditure exceeding 20,000 francs, and regarding every single item of capital expenditure exceeding 200,000 francs. Further, any proposal signed by 5000 voters for the repeal, alteration, or enactment of laws sufficed to set the Initiative at work; the cantonal council were obliged to submit the matter to a popular vote. The vote, which must be a simple affirmative or negative, was to be effected by ballot, being taken on an appointed day in every commune, under the supervision of electoral bureaux. The example of Zurich was followed by one Canton after another,

the Referendum introduced being in some cases "obligatory," so that all laws and important financial proposals must be submitted to popular vote, but in other cases "facultative," in that the Referendum became operative only upon the demand of a specified number of burghers. In most of the Cantons, the Popular Initiative was introduced as well as the Referendum. For a long time the Canton of Fribourg, clinging to a purely representative system, possessed none of these rights—Referendum, Initiative, etc.—but in April, 1920, it adopted them by a popular vote.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1874

THE years which Switzerland passed under the Federal constitution of 1848 were undoubtedly the happiest and most honourable in her history. For a considerable time the Swiss, in other respects so keen for reform, had no feeling that a revision of the Federal constitution was requisite, so that the impulse to such revision had to come from without. In the year 1864, France demanded, when signing a commercial treaty with Switzerland, the right of free settlement for all her citizens, including the Jews, as a *conditio sine quâ non*. This demand could not be rejected without forgoing the great advantages offered by the treaty, which was based on the principle of free trade. Now, it was not possible to treat the native-born Jews, who, in the constitution of 1848, had been debarred from the right of free settlement, less well than those hailing from foreign parts. Nothing, therefore, remained but to modify the Federal constitution in their favour. At the same time the Federal authorities endeavoured to do away with some other inequalities and defects, and the results of their deliberations were submitted to the people in nine articles. The voters displayed extremely conservative sentiments. In the Referendum of January 14th, 1866, eight of the nine points were rejected; the one article concerning the Jews obtained a bare majority.

It required the terrible convulsions of the years 1866 and 1870, in conjunction with the democratic movement in the Cantons, to convince the Swiss people of the necessity of effecting a thorough revision of the constitution of 1848. Liberals and democrats, though often in sharp antagonism in cantonal matters, made common cause in Federal affairs in favour of increasing centralisation. It was held that an army consisting of twenty-five cantonal contingents with various times of service and varying composition was not adequate for the serious demands of national defence. Further, it was felt to be an anachronism that in these days of railways a little country

like Switzerland should have so many different laws for Cantons and half-Cantons. To the cry "one law and one army" the democrats added the further demand that the people's rights in the Confederation should be extended. Under the energetic leadership of the gifted Aargau statesman, Emil Welti, the *Bundesrat* was all the more eager to undertake a revision of the constitution, inasmuch as the garrisoning of the frontier during 1870–71 had plainly revealed to specialists the defects of the Swiss military organisation.

On the proposal of the *Bundesrat*, the Federal Assembly in 1871–72, undertook a total revision of the constitution. Without abandoning the tried principles of 1848, the military organisation as well as the civil and criminal law were completely centralised, and the jurisdiction of the Confederation was enlarged also in other spheres of activity. But the enthusiasm for the proposals manifested by one party was countered by no less lively opposition on the part of the other. To the old opponents of a strong Confederation (the Ultramontanes and Conservatives) there were now added the Romance Swiss of all parties, who feared that such a thoroughgoing centralisation would diminish their independence, and would lead to the Germanising of Switzerland. After a great agitation for and against the proposal, it was rejected on May 12th, 1872, by 261,000 noes to 255,000 ayes, and by 13 Cantons to 9.

The advocates of revision now lent themselves to a compromise with the Romance Swiss, in that they renounced for the nonce the idea of full military and legal unity. The principal items in the new proposals for military reform (the provision of arms and general military training) were, however, left in the hand of the Confederation. In the domain of civil law, unity was limited to certain provinces (personal right to trade, the law of commercial obligations, including commercial law and the law of exchange, literary and artistic copyright, the patent law, that relating to the legal collection of debts, and the bankruptcy law) and in criminal law, to the forbidding of capital and corporal punishment. On the other hand, the Confederation was to legislate concerning railways, banks, insurance and factories, the dyking of torrents and the care of the forests in the high mountains, as well as the establishment of civil status and of marriage, and the documents relating thereto. Freedom in matters of creed and religious observance was guaranteed in the widest measure; new bishoprics, however, were

not to be constituted without the consent of the Confederation, and no new monasteries were to be founded. Primary education was made obligatory and gratuitous, and was placed entirely under State control[1]. The Federal Supreme Court became, like the *Bundesrat*, a permanent institution. As a democratic counterpoise to the increased power of the Federal authority, the "Facultative Referendum" was introduced; Federal laws and non-urgent Federal resolutions were to be submitted to the people for acceptance or refusal whenever 30,000 Swiss citizens or eight Cantons demanded this within a specified time. In such guise was the revised constitution adopted on April 19th, 1874, by 340,000 to 198,000, and by $14\frac{1}{2}$ Cantons to $7\frac{1}{2}$.

The modifications as to ecclesiastical affairs introduced into the new constitution were in part the outcome of the *Kulturkampf* which had raged in Switzerland as elsewhere. The governments of the Cantons of Bern, Lucerne, Zug, Solothurn, rural Basel, Aargau, and Thurgau, out of which the bishopric of Basel had in 1828 been reorganised, with its see in Solothurn, on August 18th, 1870, informed bishop Lachat that they hoped he would not promulgate the dogma of papal infallibility which had been promulgated on July 18th by the Vatican Council. Not only did the bishop disregard this request, but he deprived and excommunicated the priests who refused to accept the dogma, and most contemptuously ignored the demands of the governments to withdraw these measures. Thereupon, on January 29th, 1873, the majority of the diocesan Estates decreed the deprivation of bishop Lachat and, when his chapter refused to appoint an episcopal administrator, the Estates proceeded, on

[1] In connection with the Federal control of education and the account given in the text of the recent strengthening of the Federal legislative authority, a note may usefully be appended upon the linguistic question in Switzerland. German, French, and Italian are all official languages, and deputies to the National Assembly may speak in any one of the three. In fact, however, French and German are used almost exclusively, since all educated Swiss understand both these tongues. In the schools, the current language of the locality is employed, German, French, or Italian, as the case may be, compulsion being carefully avoided. In those towns which are on the border-line between two tongues, schools are created in which both tongues are used, the parents being left free to send their children to whichever school they please. In the Grisons, Romansch or Rhaeto-Romance is spoken in certain districts. It differs from Italian quite as much as does Provençal, and possesses a literature of its own, but it is spoken by no more than 40,000 persons. In those parts of the Grisons where Romansch is current, the schools are conducted either in that tongue or in German, as the individual communes may desire.

December 21st, 1874, to suppress the bishopric and to liquidate its possessions. Lucerne and Zug alone took no part in these decisions, and also recognised bishop Lachat, who had taken up his residence in Lucerne, as their rightful bishop. The conflict regarding bishop Lachat had further consequences in Bern. When the government of this Canton warned the Catholic clergy to break off all official intercourse with the deposed bishop, the majority of the priests in the Bernese Jura declared that they would continue to hold converse with him as their rightful bishop, and would henceforward, as heretofore, proclaim from their pulpits his decrees to the faithful. The Bernese court of appeal punished this public display of disobedience by deprivation, while a church law was made which was accepted by the Bernese people on January 18th, 1874, by 70,000 against 17,000 votes. This law secured the supremacy of the State over the Church, and handed over to the communes, even to the Catholic communes, the right of appointing their own priests. The unrest caused by the deposition of the priests in the Bernese Jura was suppressed by a military occupation; and the new organisation of the Catholic Church was undertaken by the Old Catholics without the co-operation of those who remained faithful to Rome.

A second ecclesiastical conflict broke out in Geneva. Here the ambitious Catholic town incumbent, Mermillod, undertook the realisation of a plan, long before conceived in Rome, for the re-establishment of the bishopric of Geneva, whereby, as it were, the work of Calvin was to be undone; and he hoped to carry out this plan behind the backs of the Genevese authorities. Bishop Marilley in Fribourg, to whose diocese the Catholic communes of Geneva belonged, acting on orders from his ecclesiastical superiors, was forced to delegate to Mermillod his own episcopal authority over Geneva. The Genevese Council of State, however, would not suffer Mermillod to exercise any episcopal functions, and on September 20th, 1872, when he refused obedience, deprived him of his benefice. The *Bundesrat*, to which the Genevese government had turned for assistance, privately informed the nuncio, Agnozzi, that it could not consent to the appointment of Mermillod as bishop of Geneva. In spite of this decision, and as if in contempt of the Swiss authority, a papal brief, dated January 16th, 1873, announced the formal appointment of Mermillod as apostolic vicar of Geneva. Thereupon the *Bundesrat*, on February 17th, decreed his banishment. When

the Pope in an encyclical pronounced the conduct of the Swiss authorities to be "shameful," the *Bundesrat* broke off all relations with the Curia and handed the nuncio in Lucerne his passports. In Geneva, however, two religious laws were promulgated in 1873, one of which demanded from the clergy an oath of fidelity to the State laws, while the other handed over the appointment of incumbents to the communes. Any priest who refused the oath was deprived; and, since the Old Catholics alone rendered obedience to the new religious laws, the Old Catholics were recognised as constituting the "national Church," while the Roman Catholic communities were relegated to the position of private societies.

In consequence of the opposition on the part of the Liberal Catholics to the dogma of papal infallibility, an Old or Christian Catholic Church came into being in Switzerland. On December 1st, 1872, at a great assembly of the people in Olten, a "Society of Liberal Catholics in Switzerland" was created; and many Old Catholic congregations were constituted in the Cantons of Aargau, Solothurn, Zurich, Basel and Geneva. These congregations drew up a Church constitution at a synod held on June 14th, 1875; and at a second synod on June 7th, 1876, they named a bishop, Professor Herzog, who was consecrated by Dr Reinkens, the bishop of the Old Catholics in Germany. The democratic character of the Old or Christian Catholic Church was shown in its synodal and communal organisation; the services were held in the vernacular, the laity received communion in both kinds, and the priests were allowed to marry. In 1874, Bern founded a Christian Catholic theological faculty in its University.

The unflinching way in which the Swiss authorities had held to their point of view impelled the Roman Curia, after the death of Pius IX, to alter its attitude. In 1878 the Roman Catholics in the Bernese Jura began, in conformity with the Bernese religious laws, to take part in ecclesiastical elections. In 1883, the banished Mermillod was appointed to the bishopric of Lausanne and Fribourg, whereupon, according to the express declaration of the papal Secretary of State, the Curia renounced all further desire to re-establish the bishopric of Geneva. Consequently the *Bundesrat* permitted the return of Mermillod, who, in 1890, was created cardinal. In 1884, the Curia offered to re-establish the bishopric of Basel since, through the resignation of Lachat, the choice of a new bishop

agreeable to the Estates of the diocese had been rendered possible. Lachat was nominated apostolic administrator of the Canton of Ticino, which was now detached from the non-Swiss bishoprics of Como and Milan, and in 1888 was formally included in the bishopric of Basel.

Meanwhile vigorous work was undertaken in the development of the Federal legislation required by the constitution of 1874. In that year, the permanent Federal Supreme Court was instituted, sitting in Lausanne; the military system was transformed by a new military organisation; in 1875, by a law relating to civil status, which, after a fierce struggle, was adopted by a Referendum with 213,199 votes against 205,069, obligatory civil marriage was introduced; in 1877, by a factory law, a normal working day of eleven hours was fixed, and by an employer's liability law an epoch-making step was taken in legislation for the protection of labour; in 1880 a law of commercial obligations, including commercial law and the law of exchange, was passed; in 1891, there was founded at Zurich a Swiss National Museum of national antiquities; in 1894, a Swiss National Library was opened in Bern. Since 1884, the Confederation has spent considerable sums in subsidies to the Cantons and communes and to private associations, on behalf of agricultural, industrial, commercial and economic education, and also on behalf of the cultivation of the arts and sciences.

Owing to the continued new demands upon the activities of the Confederation, there gradually ensued, from 1874 onwards, a transformation of the Federal constitution, effected by a number of partial revisions. In 1879, in an ebullition of popular sentiment aroused by certain murders, the prohibition of capital punishment was removed from the constitution. In 1885, as the outcome of the campaign against alcoholism, the State monopoly of alcohol was introduced, the income from the drink traffic being divided by the Confederation among the Cantons. In 1887, the registration of patents, in 1890 insurance against illness and accident, and in 1891 the issue of bank-notes, became purely Federal affairs. Through a further partial revision, constitutional changes were facilitated by the addition of the Popular Initiative; on the initiative of 50,000 burghers, the repeal or alteration of any article in the Federal constitution or the introduction of new articles must be submitted to the Swiss nation. For a time, the extremists of the Right and of the

Left competed with one another in initiative proposals of a more or less dubious character, most of which, however, were frustrated by the good sense of the community without doing any harm. On the other hand, in 1879, the Federal supervision over forests and canals was extended to the entire country; and the Confederation became competent to legislate in matters relating to food inspection.

A mile-stone in the internal development of the Federal State was passed in the year 1898, when, on February 20th, by a popular vote of 387,000 against 183,000, the nationalisation of the principal railways was decided on; and when, on November 13th, the codification of the civil and of the criminal law was voted by 265,000 against 102,000, and by 16½ Cantons against 5½. Within a few years, by far the greater portion of the network of Swiss railways, including the St Gotthard line and the Simplon line (begun in 1898 and completed in 1906) had been acquired by the State, and since then have been worked as Federal railways. In 1902, the duty was imposed upon the Confederation of giving financial support to the Cantons in matters of primary education; and in 1908 it acquired the right of legislating about industrial matters, the utilisation of water-power, and the supply of electrical energy. In 1903, a new customs' tariff was instituted, the increase of certain duties constituting an economic measure of defence against foreign competition. In 1907, a new system of military organisation was adopted, increasing the term of service for the militia, and involving a considerable increase of military expenditure, the change being approved on a Referendum by 330,000 votes against 268,000. In 1906, a Swiss national bank was instituted as a central note-issuing bank for the regulation of the monetary circulation. In 1907, the codified civil code was completed, and was put in force on New Year's Day of 1912. In 1912, the law for general insurance against accident and illness was approved by 287,000 against 241,000 votes. Thus Switzerland, notwithstanding her highly developed democratic institutions, showed herself competent to realise the progress demanded by the age. As regards the foreign world, the creditable position occupied by the country was manifested by entrusting to the Swiss *Bundesrat* the management and supervision of a number of international concerns, some of which had been called into existence, partly in response to popular initiative—for instance the postal union

(1874), the international telegraph union (1875), the union for the protection of industrial property (1883) and of artistic property (1886), and the international agreement concerning the transport of goods by railway (1890).

From 1848 onwards, and at an accelerated rate since 1874, the Confederation developed from a loose federation of States into a genuine centralised State, existing beside and above the Cantons, and taking from them an ever greater proportion of State duties heretofore within their jurisdiction. Yet, side by side with the Federal State, the Cantons have maintained their full right to existence as the historical constituents of the democratic self-government of Switzerland. Even if there is much in cantonal administration which seems narrow and accidental, the defects are remedied by the love which the Swiss feels for his Canton, and by the competitive zeal which stimulates the Cantons to voluntary achievements on behalf of progress, to activities which, in default of this motive, would hardly have been pursued with equal vigour.

Just as, since 1848, Switzerland has concentrated her political energies, so also has the country, great difficulties notwithstanding, gained economic strength. Far from the sea, lacking coal, iron, and other raw materials, Switzerland has nevertheless become an industrial and commercial country which takes rank with England, Belgium and Holland. The foreign trade of Switzerland, which in 1885 consisted of imports amounting to 681,000,000 francs and exports amounting to 641,000,000 francs, had in 1911 increased to such an extent that the imports then amounted to 1,744,000,000 and the exports to 1,253,000,000 francs, 85 per cent. of the exports consisting of manufactured articles. Owing to the poverty of her soil and to her lack of mineral resources, Switzerland has to import considerable quantities of food-stuffs and raw materials; and these are paid for by valuable manufactured articles, such as silk and embroidery, watches and jewellery, machines, boots and shoes, straw-plaited articles, condensed milk, cheese, chocolate, etc. The apparent discrepancy of approximately 500,000,000 francs between imports and exports is compensated, in part by the earnings of Swiss undertakings abroad, and in part by the profits made out of the foreign visitors, whose coming has practically assumed the proportions of an invasion, which may in a sense be said to have taken the place of the former mercenary service. The seamy side of the

vigorous industrialisation of the country has been the creation of a large class of labourers, receiving wages but divorced from the soil, and continually increased in numbers by foreign immigration. Since the sixties of last century the increase of this class has been manifested by the appearance of a growing Socialist party.

The intellectual vigour of Switzerland was manifested throughout the nineteenth century by the honourable share the country took in the literary movements in Germany and France, Switzerland at the same time in many respects pursuing her own path. The independent character of Swiss literature is displayed especially in this, that the most noted Swiss writers are, consciously or unconsciously, guided by the aim of exercising an educational influence upon their own countrymen. This didactic aim is most strongly manifest in the famous Bernese writer, Albert Bitzius (1797–1854), better known under his pen-name of Jeremias Gotthelf, the first great realist of German literature, who in his stories describes the life of the Bernese peasantry with pitiless veracity and unmistakable genius. The creations of Gottfried Keller of Zurich (1819–1890), artistically more perfect than those of Gotthelf (for Keller is the greatest of Swiss poets), are based on the peculiar characteristics of the Swiss people, and breathe the ardent patriotism of the generation which created the Federal State of 1848. On the other hand, another great poet of Zurich, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (1829–1898), was more cosmopolitan in his choice of materials and in the construction of his masterly stories and poems. The same remark applies to Carl Spitteler (still alive) a native of rural Basel, one of the profoundest poets of the present day. The literary work of French Switzerland displayed its independence of Paris in various ways, as for instance in the writings of the humourist Rodolphe Töpffer (1799–1846), and in those of the profoundly religious Alexandre Vinet (1797–1847), of the liberal-minded historian of literature and describer of Alpine scenery, Eugène Rambert (1830–1886), and in the writings of the great novelists and critics Victor Cherbuliez and Edouard Rod.

The rich artistic gifts of the Swiss found expression in such men as Alexandre Calame (1810–1864), the discoverer of the artistic possibilities of the Alps, Léopold Robert (1794–1835) with his classical descriptions of Italian folk-life, Rudolf Koller (1828–1905) the animal painter, Arnold Böcklin (1827–1901) the imaginative

colourist, Ferdinand Hodler (1853–1918) the master of wall-painting, and many others. In the field of the natural sciences it will suffice to recall two masterpieces of cartography—that published between 1842 and 1864 under the superintendence of General G. H. Dufour (1787–1875), and that published from 1870 under the direction of Colonel Siegfried (1819–1879); to refer to Charpentier (1786–1855) and Agassiz (1787–1875), two of the founders of the science of glaciers; to the geologists Bernard Studer (1794–1887), Escher (1807–1872), famous for his work on the Linth, and Albert Heim (living); to the botanists Augustin de Candolle (1778–1841), Oswald Heer (1809–1883) and Carl Wilhelm Nägeli (1871–1891); to the physicists Jean Daniel Colladon (1802–1893) and Auguste de la Rive (1801–1873); and to Jakob Burckhardt (1808–1897), the historian of art. Although Switzerland, with the difficulties caused by the existence of three separate native tongues, cannot hope to create an independent Swiss civilisation and literature, the country can, without exaggeration, claim that she takes her full share in the intellectual labours of the great neighbour nations, at once in what she gives and in what she receives. Above all, Switzerland is proud of her political independence, and less than ever now would she be willing to renounce it since, thanks to her new Federal institutions, she feels competent to fulfil all the difficult tasks which the present age imposes on the State.

APPENDIX

THE HISTORICAL RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND SWITZERLAND[1]

During the war opinions were often expressed publicly in German-speaking Switzerland about England, which, rightly or wrongly, were considered in that country as a mere echo of German views and German interests. Certainly a part of our own Swiss press forgot that Switzerland possesses special relations with England, and that it ought not to allow its views about the island kingdom to be inspired from without. An account of the historical relations which have subsisted between England and Switzerland will illustrate excellently the truth of this fact, and will best show what a real community of ideas has bound the Swiss to England for centuries, and what important services England has rendered to us repeatedly in dangerous times.

1

FROM THE BATTLE OF MARIGNANO TO THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

The political relations between England and Switzerland date back a long way—indeed to the time of the battle of Marignano (1515). In 1514 the first British envoy, Richard Pace, appeared in Zurich to propose an alliance between the "powerful Swiss League" and his master, king Henry VIII, against France. It was in 1516 that the then most prominent political leader of the Swiss Confederation, Cardinal Schinner, went to London in order to bring about a union between England, the Emperor, the Pope, Spain, and the Swiss Confederation. But the "Everlasting Peace" of the Confederation with France (November 29th, 1516) put a

[1] This pamphlet appeared shortly before Professor Oechsli's lamented death on April 26th, 1919. The following translation has been made with the kind permission of the Proprietors of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the Swiss paper in which the articles appeared on March 9th, 13th, 14th, 16th and 19th, 1919.

sudden end to all these schemes of alliance, at least so far as regards the Swiss Confederation.

On the other hand, the Reformation created an unbreakable spiritual link between the British Islands and the greatest part of Switzerland. The leaders of the English Protestants in the time of Edward VI, such as Archbishop Cranmer and the dukes of Somerset and Suffolk, corresponded with Bullinger and Calvin, and the letters written with the highest respect by the unfortunate queen, Jane Grey, to the chief of the reformers in Zurich are still preserved in the Zurich Central Library. During the persecutions of "Bloody" Mary Switzerland offered the safest retreat to the English refugees for conscience sake. One of them, John Bale, bishop of Ossory, praises (1558) the Helvetic churches as the "fountain-heads of the pure religion, which has flowed in hidden channels to the very ends of the world, yea even to us across the Ocean." For him Zurich is the best "retreat for the refugees, as well as the oracle for the Christian world," while Geneva is "the new world-market, to which everything streams in order to exchange the heavenly for the earthly."

With the accession of Elizabeth the spiritual intercourse between England and Switzerland did not come to an end. Many of the refugees, who had found a safe retreat in Zurich, Basel and Geneva, were now promoted to the highest ecclesiastical posts. Whole volumes are filled with the letters which the bishops and statesmen of Elizabeth wrote to the principal Swiss reformers. In our "National Museum" there is still preserved a goblet which queen Elizabeth caused to be made for Bullinger. Despite its episcopal constitution, the English Church regarded itself as a member of the reformed religious communion, founded by Zwingli and Calvin. John Knox, who had sat in Geneva at the feet of Calvin, transferred too the external forms of the Calvinistic Church to Scotland, and became there the founder of the Presbyterian Church, while the Puritans prepared a new home for strict Calvinism across the ocean in New England.

The relations which had been created under Edward VI and Elizabeth with the Protestant Cantons continued to subsist under the first Stuart kings. The pastors and professors of the "Helvetic Churches and Universities" sought, with the authority of their respective governments, by letters to Archbishop Laud, to the

Scotch Covenanters, to Charles I, and to Parliament to prevent the English revolution, though without success. But the great naval war between the English and Dutch republics, which broke out in 1652, afforded the Protestant Cantons an opportunity of bringing about peace successfully.

After warnings to the two Protestant naval Powers not to exhibit to Catholic Europe the sight of a strife between brothers had remained fruitless, the Protestant Cantons sent, in the spring of 1653, the accomplished linguist and Town Clerk of Schaffhausen, Johannes Jakob Stockar, to London to offer their mediation. The neutral Swiss met with a good reception from the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and during the negotiations for peace, and his long stay in England, was able to render to both Powers services which were not merely matters of form, but were very substantial. Not only does the Treaty of Peace (April 15th, 1654) recognise that the Protestant Cantons, through their mediation and the ability of their envoy, had done both republics good service, but it also names these Cantons as arbitrators in all disputed points as to which England and the Netherlands might not be able to come to an understanding.

Though this rôle of arbitrators remained in the councils of these Cantons without any practical effect in the dispute between the two naval Powers, Cromwell would not allow the relations thus initiated to come to an end. In May, 1654, the learned mathematician, John Pell, arrived in Zurich as his envoy, entrusted with the task of thwarting the renewal of the alliance between the Protestant Cantons and France, and in its place of bringing about an Anglo-Swiss league. But when Cromwell himself made approaches to France, he abandoned the idea of an alliance with the Swiss. Yet Pell remained in Zurich; and the Anglo-Swiss friendship was of great help to the unfortunate Waldenses of Piedmont.

In the beginning of 1655 duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy began a cruel war of destruction against these Waldenses who for centuries, now unmolested, now persecuted, had inhabited certain valleys of the Piedmontese Alps. The Waldenses had always been regarded as brothers in religion by the Protestants; but the diplomatic steps taken by the Protestant Cantons remained without effect. So they called for the intervention of the powerful Lord Protector. He accepted this offer with enthusiasm, and by means

of an appeal to the Protestant States, written by Milton, which re-echoed throughout the whole of Europe, proposed joint action to save their threatened brothers. The Protestant Cantons attained their object by the despatch of a new mission to Turin, especially as the French court, wishing to conciliate England, took action in favour of the persecuted folk. On August 18th, 1655, in the castle of Pignerol, and in the presence of the Swiss envoys, a general pardon was issued, which secured peace to the Waldenses for some decades.

This whole business of the Waldenses had in Switzerland, too, greatly excited religious passion once more, and contributed to the outbreak of the religious war of 1656 (First Villmergen war). Zurich and Bern appealed through Pell to Cromwell for pecuniary help, and he was ready to send them the sum of 20,000 pounds sterling. But before these funds could arrive from England the war had been decided at Villmergen to the disadvantage of the Protestants.

The death of Cromwell, and the restoration of the Stuarts, coupled with their leanings towards the Catholics, interrupted the close relations of the Protestant Cantons with the island kingdom. Bern indeed allowed the outlawed English republicans, the "murderers of the king," to live on its territory. Hence, as in the entire Protestant world, so too in Protestant Switzerland a feeling of unspeakable relief was felt when James II, the vassal of France, was dethroned in the second English revolution, and was replaced by William III of Orange, the great champion of Europe against the Bourbon aim of obtaining the domination of the world. England and the Netherlands planned to take advantage of this feeling of relief in order to detach the Protestant Cantons from their alliance with France, and to utilise Swiss mercenaries for their own ends. An English envoy, Thomas Coxe, appeared (1689) in Switzerland, with the task of concluding an alliance, and of securing 4000 mercenary soldiers. The French envoy contemptuously remarked that the Protestant Swiss towns had received Coxe as a second Messiah. But the alliance he sought to conclude did not come off, for William III would not accept the condition laid down by the Protestant Cantons, that the Swiss troops should only be used for purposes of defence; and the Swiss towns shrank from an open breach with France which would have resulted if this condition had been

insisted on. The Netherlands had better success, when in 1693 they made a military capitulation with Zurich, Bern, Schaffhausen, Appenzell and the Grisons. Later, in the war of the Palatinate, many Swiss mercenaries served on both sides. But this fact did not prevent the Powers, in accordance with the ideas then prevalent as to International Law, from recognising the neutrality of Switzerland.

The same was the case in the War of the Spanish Succession (1700–1715), which marks the culmination of this system of employing Swiss troops, for over 50,000 real or nominal Swiss mercenaries fought on the two sides. The Swiss Confederation, as such, remained neutral, but she was nearly drawn into the war by reason of the varying sympathies of the two contending religious parties in that country. While the Catholic Cantons became more than ever open to French influences, the Protestant Cantons showed a scarcely concealed dislike to Louis XIV after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and maintained the closest relations with the Protestant naval Powers. Zurich and Bern rejoiced over the victories of Marlborough and of Prince Eugene, and rightly so from the Swiss point of view, for, had not Louis XIV met with defeat in the War of the Spanish Succession, Neuchâtel would probably be French to-day and not Swiss.

Indeed Neuchâtel was then in a fair way to become French, for its Princes, the Longuevilles, generally resided in France, and were related to the French king and submissive to him. The French courts were already claiming to decide who should be the heir of the Longuevilles in Neuchâtel. Hence William III of Orange was persuaded by Bern and the Neuchâtel nobles who favoured his cause to put forward, as the heir of the Counts of Châlons, a long obsolete right of overlordship that this extinct house had exercised formerly over the Counts of Neuchâtel. His claim to be the rightful heir after the extinction of the house of Longueville (1707) was ceded by the childless king to his nephew, Frederick of Brandenburg, later king of Prussia. So it came about that it was England which backed up Bern with the necessary support in order to further the solution of the question of the heirship of Neuchâtel in a sense which was favourable to Switzerland. It was not because the king of Prussia had the best legal title that Frederick I became lord of Neuchâtel, but because Bern and its allies, at the head of

which stood England, did not wish to allow this important gate of the Jura to fall into the hands of France.

2

THE AGE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND OF NAPOLEON

After the War of the Spanish Succession the principle of Swiss neutrality was beyond question. Hence Great Britain for long had no occasion to take a lively interest in Swiss affairs, although in the eighteenth century she maintained permanently in Bern a minister of the second or third rank, who was accredited to all the Cantons, but especially to those which were Protestant.

It was the outbreak of the French Revolutionary war which induced the British Cabinet to pay more attention to the Alpine republic. Lord Robert FitzGerald, a man of rank, who was British envoy in Bern from 1792 to 1794, was commissioned to persuade the Cantons to join the coalition against France. But despite the anger felt by the Swiss at the massacre of the Swiss Guards in the defence of the Tuileries by the revolutionaries, and the hatred which the Swiss ruling aristocrats felt against the Revolution, Lord Robert was confronted with the immutable principle of Swiss neutrality, so that he was unable to carry out his mission. His successor, William Wickham, was envoy to the Cantons merely in name. His chief task was working, from Switzerland as a basis, to support anti-revolutionary movements in the interior of France. His intrigues with the French royalists were so extensive that when, after the *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor, 1797, the French Directory prepared to open relations with Switzerland, it demanded, as the first condition, the expulsion of the British envoy from Switzerland. But, when Wickham was persuaded by the Mayor of Bern, Steiger, to quit Switzerland of his own accord, the Directory of course at once made fresh demands.

In 1798 Switzerland succumbed to the attack of France—a misfortune which England was unable to prevent. On the other hand, English gold and English advice played a great rôle in the Second Coalition war of 1799. By the aid of English gold the Swiss émigrés, working from Swabia and the Vorarlberg, tried to rouse in their country a rising of the people against the French and their vassal,

the "Helvetic Republic." An "Old Swiss Legion" penetrated, with the Austrians commanded by Hotze, into Switzerland. According to the representations of the Swiss émigrés, the Austrians had expected that the Swiss would rise like one man, and that from 15,000 to 18,000 volunteers at least would join them, especially as England had declared herself ready to undertake all the expenses. But the rush to the Swiss regiments in British pay was not greater than that to the "Helvetic" brigades in the service of France. In the middle of August, 1799, it was estimated that there were 3400 Swiss on the side of the Austrians, while Masséna had with him some 5000 "Helvetians." The opinions of the Swiss were just then so divided that it was not possible for them to take any active steps on one side or the other. They could just as little get up enthusiasm for the Allies, who desired, under the pretence of national independence, to restore the hated rule of the aristocrats in the towns, as for the French, who plundered the Swiss in the name of Liberty and Equality.

The British envoy, William Wickham, had re-entered Switzerland with the Austrians. The British Cabinet genuinely desired the independence of Switzerland, but, being only superficially acquainted with the local situation, it regarded as an essential condition the restoration of the old constitutions. Wickham therefore aimed zealously at the complete restoration of the old state of things and of the old governments. According to him and his friend Steiger, it was necessary that, in every village which passed from the hands of the French into those of the Austrians, the "legitimate" polity, as it existed before the outbreak of the Revolution, should be set up again. Archduke Charles, who was guided in political matters by Hotze (a native of the rural portion of the Canton of Zurich) was not inclined to be in such haste. By the irony of fate it was the complaints of Wickham about the demeanour of the Austrian generals which, it would seem, gave the impulse to the new war scheme which brought about the shifting of the fortunes of war to the side of the French. The British Cabinet began to be suspicious of the intentions of the Austrians as regards Switzerland, and therefore proposed that an exclusively Russian army, under the command of Suvoroff, should be collected in that country. So England was the real author of the idea of Suvoroff's celebrated campaign, and of the second battle of Zurich, which was so decisive for the result

of the whole campaign, and even of the Second Coalition war, because of the withdrawal of the Russians from the coalition.

By the Peace of Lunéville (1801) France formally restored Swiss independence so far as regards Austria. But in the eyes of the Corsican, who dreamt of world dominion, that amounted to nothing more than words. In the course of the peace negotiations with England he did not permit any mention of Helvetia, any more than of Batavia and of the Italian Republics, so that in the Peace of Amiens (1802) Switzerland was not spoken of. On the other hand, England was of all the Powers the only one to protest against the fresh intervention of France into Swiss affairs by the announcement of the mediation (September 30th, 1802) of the First Consul. The British Ministry reminded the First Consul that the Swiss Cantons, like every independent State, possessed the right (which besides was expressly guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Lunéville) to order their internal affairs as they pleased; England, therefore, could not believe that France would insist on hindering an independent nation from freely exercising its rights. This intervention on the part of England woke up all the pride of Bonaparte, and led to a remarkable exchange of notes, the language of which laid bare, as if by way of prophecy, the immeasurable ambition of the Corsican, and was the cause of the renewed breach of the world-peace which had scarcely been concluded.

England for the moment could not prevent the fact that the Act of Mediation (1803) confirmed afresh the complete dependence of Switzerland on France. Switzerland, therefore, had naturally to take part in the Continental Blockade, which forbade (1806) the importation of English goods, and (1810) confiscated those English goods which were in the country. Further, in 1807, Switzerland had to put forth a strict prohibition against any recruiting which was not based on a military capitulation in harmony with the French alliance. This prohibition was exclusively directed against England, who then had in her service more Swiss mercenaries than ever before.

The system by which Swiss mercenaries were employed by the English differed from that adopted in the case of the French, Dutch, Spanish, and in that it was based on no official treaties, and was therefore merely a private undertaking. In this form England, despite the failure of Coxe's mission in 1691, had taken Swiss

mercenaries into her pay for the first time. Between 1751 and 1755 five companies of Swiss soldiers fought in the East Indies in the service of the British East India Company. But the employment of Swiss mercenaries in the British army reached its greatest extent in the days of Napoleon. Then three whole Swiss regiments were in the British service. Meuron's regiment, originally raised for the Dutch East India Company, passed over, after that Company had come to an end in Ceylon (1795), into the British service, took part in Wellington's campaign in Hindustan, formed the garrison of Malta in 1806, and was in 1813 sent to Canada, where in 1816 it was disbanded. Von Roll's regiment was raised for England in 1795 despite official prohibition, served in Corsica, Elba, Portugal, Egypt, Gibraltar, and Sicily, took part in the conquest of the Ionian Islands (1810), was in part transferred to Spain in 1812, then reunited in Sicily (1814), and finally disbanded in Corfu in 1815. Von Wattenwyl's regiment was formed in 1801 out of the remnants of the four Swiss regiments known by the names of Bachmann, Roverea, Salis-Marschlins, and Courten which, paid by England, but under command of the Austrians, had been through the Second Coalition war. A detachment helped in the defence of Elba, while the remainder of the regiment was sent to Egypt. Both parts were reunited in Malta in 1803, formed a part of the Anglo-Russian army in Naples (1805), and fought in the battle of Maida in Calabria (July 4th, 1806) against brother Swiss who were in the service of France. Transferred to Cadiz in 1811, it helped in the defence of that town and of Carthagena, was despatched in 1813 to Canada, and was there disbanded in 1816.

England entered into official relations with Switzerland only after the fall of Napoleon and the abolition of his Act of Mediation. In the summer of 1814, Lord Castlereagh, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, resolved not to leave the field in Switzerland exclusively in the hands of the Continental Powers. Hence, he sent one of his ablest diplomats, Stratford Canning (then aged 28) to Zurich. Along with the witty Capo d'Istria (a native of Corfu), the representative of the Tsar, Stratford Canning took at once the first place among the diplomatists who in Zurich were trying to guide the Swiss Confederation, then in great disorder, into the right path once more. As the Tsar, influenced by his old teacher, Laharpe, had taken under his wing the new Cantons of Vaud and

'ı, the existence of which was threatened, and Capo d'Istria ... instructed accordingly, Canning on his side was obliged to favour as much as possible (yet without detaching himself from the other envoys) the cause of Bern, the patricians of which could not get over the loss of Vaud and Aargau. Canning discharged his mission in a fashion which does him all honour. With the help of Capo d'Istria he sought to remove the bitter hatred of the Cantons, which were plaguing each other with territorial claims and other demands, and to prepare the way for an agreement. When the enmity between the "old" Switzerland and the "modern" Switzerland had got to such a pitch that no course seemed to open save to dissolve the Diet in Zurich—a course which would involve a civil war or a forcible intervention of the Powers—Canning, as the special confidant of the Bernese, put before them the necessity of union and the drawbacks of intervention, and endeavoured to console them for their lost districts by the possibility of compensation in the bishopric of Basel. He thus helped to bring about a better state of things, so that finally, on September 9th, 1814, the reorganisation of Switzerland was completed, and on September 12th the number of the Cantons was raised to 22 by the admission of the former "allies," the Valais, Neuchâtel and Geneva.

The gentle pressure which the diplomatists had exerted to bring about the Federal Pact of 1815 became much stronger in the case of the revision of the Cantonal Constitutions, and here too Stratford Canning, with Capo d'Istria, played the chief rôle. These Cantonal Constitutions of 1814 were, for the most part, as much an act of external force as had been those of 1803, save that in 1814 the external force was not officially proclaimed, and did not extend to all the Cantons alike. Stratford Canning declared that the leading principles of this interference were: "Intervention only so far as was necessary, respect of old customs and existing privileges, but also preservation of Liberal institutions; in short, so far as the circumstances permit, the spreading of a colour harmony over the various portions of the Confederation." In the interest of this "colour harmony" the ministers sought so far as possible to cut down the democratic features of the constitutions as established by the Act of Mediation, and to assimilate the "representative" constitutions of the new Cantons to the aristocracies of the old urban

Cantons, yet on the other hand to sprinkle with a drop of democratic oil the restored patriciates of Bern, Fribourg and Solothurn. But they did not dare to touch the antique rust which covered the constitutions of the mountain Cantons.

In the autumn of 1814 the centre of gravity, so far as Federal affairs were concerned, was for months transferred to Vienna, so that both Capo d'Istria and Canning had to transfer their residence thither. The Five Great Powers of the Congress of Vienna set up a Swiss Committee, which named both of these statesmen as "consulting members." This Commission, which included all the wisest heads of the Congress, tried with the best intentions and absolute impartiality, to secure the lasting peace of Switzerland by regulating all territorial disputes, and would have been glad to revise the frontiers of the country so as to assure military security in various directions. The last named object was championed especially by the representatives of England, Russia and Prussia. A Memorial drawn up for the three Courts by Stratford Canning while still in Zurich advocated the annexation of the Valtelline, of the territories of the bishopric of Basel, and of the city of Constance to Switzerland, as well as the union of Carouge, Faucigny and Chablais with Geneva. As to the return of the Valtelline to Switzerland all members of the Congress seemed at first to be quite agreed, save the Swiss themselves, who had neglected to come to an understanding at the right moment. The disagreement between Reinhard, the chief of the Swiss Mission in Vienna, who wished to make of the Valtelline a half-Canton of the Grisons, and the Graubündeners themselves, who desired to include in their Canton only Chiavenna and Bormio, but were against any union with the Valtelline proper, gave Austria the opportunity of dragging out the affair. For a long time, with Russia, England had most decidedly demanded the return of the Valtelline to Switzerland. But the replacement of Castlereagh by Wellington, who, as a soldier, preferred to see this great land of passes in the strong hand of Austria rather than in the weak hand of neutral Switzerland, gave the game to the former power. Again, the Swiss Committee seemed for long to be agreed that Geneva, by the acquisition of the Pays de Gex, should be put into direct communication with Vaud, and that France should be compensated for this loss by double as big a district in the region of Porrentruy. Louis XVIII had already given his ambassador in Vienna, Talleyrand,

full powers to carry out this exchange. But the Frenchman withdrew from this task, being disgusted by the warm interest which England displayed for Geneva. The Genevese envoys had indeed learnt from Stratford Canning that Talleyrand was secretly negotiating with Sardinia about the cession of Carouge; but they had brought this scheme to naught by invoking the aid of the Tsar Alexander to check by his protest an intrigue so dangerous for the newly-won freedom of their town. Talleyrand informed his king that the reason why he had put on the shelf this business of the exchange of Gex for Porrentruy was the clearly indicated intention of the English to strengthen their influence over Switzerland by favouring Geneva. On March 29th, 1815, Stratford Canning appeared in Zurich, with the double task of pressing, together with the other envoys, on the Diet both the acceptance of the arrangements relating to Switzerland which had been sanctioned by the Congress, and also the adherence of Switzerland to the coalition against Napoleon, who had just returned from Elba. Canning took into account the opinion of Switzerland and its limited supply of war material, and so contented himself with the agreement of May 20th, 1815, by which Switzerland joined the "system" of the Allies without at first taking an active part in the war.

In apparent contradiction with this attempt to drive Switzerland to break with Napoleon, Canning had at the same time obtained full powers, in union with his colleagues in Zurich, to prepare the document about the permanent neutrality of Switzerland, which had been promised to it by the Congress. But the diplomatists in Zurich had not dared to draw up such a document themselves, for both the Russian and the Austrian ministers had received from their respective courts the order to carry out the wishes of Switzerland only when the general amnesty for the disorders of 1814–15 had been completely executed—a measure which the restored patricians of Fribourg had executed in a very cursory manner. The statesmen assembled in Paris after the victory of Waterloo neglected the matter. So Castlereagh and Capo d'Istria secretly invited the representative of Switzerland at the peace negotiations, the Genevese Pictet de Roschemont, to draft himself the aforesaid document, which then, for the sake of settling the question, Capo d'Istria put forth as his own work. So it was the pen of a Swiss which at the request of the English and Russians, dictated to the

Allies the European sanction of the principle of Swiss neutrality, which for three centuries the Swiss themselves had tried to secure.

3

FROM 1816 TO 1848. LORD PALMERSTON

Among the Powers, the envoys of which from 1816 onwards, had their permanent residence in Bern, none enjoyed such indisputable and general confidence as Great Britain, partly because it was felt that she was indifferent to all side issues, partly because of the great respect in which her representative was held. Castlereagh directed Stratford Canning "to maintain the spirit of harmony and good will among the different members of the Confederation," to favour the creation of a central military authority to supervise all military matters and of a military school, and in general to support every measure that could increase the country's power of self-defence, but always to avoid even the appearance of exercising foreign influence. Stratford Canning therefore carefully followed these instructions, which were really but the echo of his own reports. Hence, in 1816, at the request of the Swiss, who pointed out to him the difficulties which the military reform, though considered necessary, encountered, he drew up a long Memorial for a Federal Military Commission specially summoned in Zurich. In this Memorial he advocated the creation of a Federal military school, and of a standing military authority, and the employment as a war fund of the three millions paid by the French as a war compensation. These reforms were not new, but only such as the superior officers of Switzerland had long demanded as indispensable. But the Memorial of the esteemed representative of Great Britain had this advantage that it stiffened the back of the supporters of military reform. So far Stratford Canning is not wrong when he claims for England the honour of having given the impulse to the Federal army reform of 1817, to which our military organisation in the nineteenth century goes back. He was certainly more in the right than the Prussian envoy, Justus Gruner, who calls this reform "a great Prussian work," since, at the time of his arrival in Switzerland the main lines of the new military organisation had been already laid down.

In 1819 Stratford Canning exchanged his diplomatic post in Bern for a similar one in Washington. His successors, who fol-

lowed him quickly one after the other, generally refrained from interfering in the internal affairs of Switzerland. But for that very reason they contrasted advantageously with their Continental colleagues, who, in the days of the persecution of democracy, vied with each other in their hateful watch over the Swiss press or in demands for the expulsion or extradition of political refugees. Great Britain, under the influence of its great foreign minister, George Canning, held itself entirely aloof from the baiting of the refugees. And further, during the height of this baiting, 1823–5, it had in Charles Richard Vaughan, minister in Bern, a man who made no secret of his Liberal feelings. The Prussian minister, Otterstedt, denounced him therefore as the "official protector of the revolutionary agitation" in Switzerland. In April, 1823, the Continental Powers in Paris agreed on a collective step against Switzerland; and the rumour spread that Austria had received a mandate for occupation. This induced the former Helvetic Minister, Stapfer, to ask his friend, Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Opposition, to put a question to the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, as to whether the Government had any knowledge of this agreement. Lord Liverpool categorically denied this; and at the same time the same reply was made by George Canning in the Commons to a similar question put by Brougham. This was also a hint given by England to Switzerland to defend its independence very energetically. In the infamous regulation of the Diet as to the press and foreigners of July 14th, 1823, rather the contrary was the case.

In the revolution that took place in our Cantons in the thirties of the last century the various personal rights which for the English, since their revolution, formed part of their inheritance, were for the first time adopted by the Cantons—such as protection against arbitrary arrest, the inviolability of the home, freedom for trade and commerce, the liberty of belief and of worship, of speech and of the press, of petition, of forming associations and of public meeting. The new Liberal Constitutions of the former aristocratic or plutocratic Cantons could therefore not be a thorn in the flesh to England as they were to the more easterly Powers.

The July Revolution of 1830 in Paris had broken up the Five Great Powers into two groups—the Liberal western Powers, England and France, and the reactionary eastern Powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. This split made itself especially felt in their

relations to Switzerland. The western Powers did not hinder the free development of political life in the Confederation; France, indeed, even demanded this in the early days of the Monarchy of July. The eastern Powers, on the contrary, led by Austria, favoured the resistance of the Conservatives, and had only unfriendly warnings for the Liberal governments. The attempt in 1832 to reform the Federal Pact of 1815 finally decided the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, to intervene. He had to admit that the treaties of 1815 contained no guarantees for the Federal Pact, but got over this obstacle by the following theory—that the guarantee of its neutrality and of its territorial inviolability, which had been promised in 1815, was forfeited when it gave up its character as a Federation of sovereign States (which was the leading idea of the eastern Powers) and became subject to a central authority, for this would be only a collection of puppets in the hands of a great neighbouring Power. A Memorial dated at Vienna on June 5th, 1832, recommended that the Great Powers should take preventive measures against any proposed revision of the Pact of 1815. Prussia and Russia were quite satisfied with all this.

At one moment it seemed as if in this question England would join the eastern Powers. Lord Palmerston had in 1830 entered the Cabinet of Lord Grey as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and was to direct the foreign policy of England for eleven years. He clearly feared that a centralised Switzerland would become again a vassal of France, as in the days of the Helvetic Republic and of the Act of Mediation. Hence, on June 9th, 1832, he directed the British envoy in Bern to make the following declaration in the proper quarter: that the British government had not the slightest desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Switzerland, but that the existing guaranteed neutrality was indissolubly connected with the existing Federal system; hence, any change which should disturb the sovereignty of the several Cantons and should put them under the arbitrary rule of a central government would, without doubt, give the guaranteeing Powers the right of opposing such an alteration; but the British government trusted that the genuine expression of its opinion would be taken as a proof of friendship and interest.

The British envoy in Switzerland, David Richard Morier, who was accredited on June 21st, 1832, made representations in this sense to Lucerne, then the ruling Canton, and sought to postpone

a revision of the Pact of 1815 till the times were quieter; but the mayor, Edward Pfyffer, declared this to be impossible. The Austrian envoy, Count Bombelles, proposed that the Five Great Powers should lay down the principle that the guarantee of Swiss neutrality should be considered to depend on the continued existence of the Pact of 1815. But this proposal met with the absolute refusal of the French envoy, de Rumigny; the representative of England behaved also in such a manner that Bombelles complained that the despatches which Morier had received since his original instructions had greatly diminished his energy.

The so-called "Rossi" draft of a Federation, which Bombelles declared to be a "perfidious fabrication" meant to mask cleverly the death-blow aimed at the old Pact of 1815, completely calmed, by reason of its moderate reforms, Palmerston's anxiety lest a unitary republic should be subject to French influence. When the Austrian envoy, Apponyi, in the spring of 1833, at a conference in Paris, laid before the Five Powers a note to the Confederation, which threatened it with the withdrawal of the guarantee of its neutrality, the French foreign minister, de Broglie, refused to sign it; and the British envoy, Lord Granville, agreed with him. Metternich's plan of frustrating the reform of the Pact of 1815 by a common protest of the Powers thus broke down before the refusal of the two western Powers. Therefore the voters of Lucerne did him the pleasure of laying aside all reform of the Pact by their vote of July 7th, 1833.

Morier, who was British envoy in Bern for some 15 years, was well disposed towards Switzerland (the original home of his family), but he did not understand the profound agitation which, under his eyes, was preparing the transformation of the loosely knitted Confederation into a much closer Federation. According to his views the Confederation should have enjoyed a peaceful existence, under the protection of the Great Powers which guaranteed its neutrality. Both his religious and his political opinions made him heartily opposed to the two parties, the Conservatives and the Radicals, which were disturbing this peaceful existence, but he took no active part in the party struggles. It was only in the case of complications of Switzerland with foreign parts that British influence was benevolently exerted. Morier himself described his activity in Switzerland in the following words: "It is true that the Government of Great Britain, by reason of its position and of the un-

changeable benevolence of its policy, has been looked upon by all parties and governments in Switzerland with complete trust in the case of complications which the negotiations with Sardinia, Austria and France about the Polish refugees in Savoy, the German refugees, the French spy, Conseil, and Louis Napoleon, brought with them, and the solution of which was much lightened by British influence." The value which was placed upon this influence was especially shown in an internal matter—the petition made in 1845 by the Bernese government that the British legation should intervene first to bring about the speedy release by Lucerne of the captured "Volunteers," and then to rescue Dr Steiger of Lucerne, their chief, from capital execution.

In 1845 Metternich was again pressing for a joint intervention of the Powers to "rescue poor Switzerland, which was in a state of social disorganisation." He asserted as his justification, just as in 1832, the treaties of 1815, which presupposed the undiminished sovereignty of the 22 Cantons, a sovereignty which was continually being violated by the Radicals. Austria could count, as usual, on Prussia and Russia. Even Louis Philippe and his minister, Guizot, transferred their dislike of the Radicals in their own country to the Radicals in Switzerland, and made visible approaches to Austria, though they hesitated to accept Metternich's proposal for a joint intervention. Instead of this, Guizot induced Lord Aberdeen, Foreign Secretary in Peel's ministry, to take the lead in a gentle warning to the Swiss. On February 11th, 1845, Aberdeen sent to Morier a despatch meant to be circulated. This described the danger of a dissolution of the Pact of 1815 to the cause of Swiss neutrality, and expressed the hope that the Cantons would advise the ruling Canton, Lucerne, to solve the questions which were troubling Switzerland by the legal methods prescribed in the Pact of 1815, and not by the use of physical force. This courteously worded warning of England against the "Volunteer rioters" in Switzerland was regarded as harmless; but a note from Guizot, dated March 3rd, by reason of its imperious tone, was sharply criticised, both in the Diet and in the Press, as a non-permissible intervention, so that the later notes of the eastern Powers attracted relatively little attention.

However, a certain amount of agreement between the Powers seemed to have been attained; and Metternich desired to strike

while the iron was hot. On May 20th, 1845, he proposed to Guizot to make the following declaration: that the Five Powers would regard the destruction of the Pact of 1815, whether openly executed or under the cloak of a majority vote of the Diet, as an act which annulled the guarantee of Swiss neutrality. Guizot negotiated with Aberdeen, who replied that England would take no part in any campaign in favour of the Jesuits; and so Metternich's plan fell to the ground for the time being.

The nearer the danger for the Sonderbund approached, the busier were the continental diplomatists in working in its favour. In September, 1846, Metternich put forth a definite programme, according to which the intervention of the Powers was to be made step by step: first that, when the position of capital should pass to Bern, then dominated by the "Chiefs of the Volunteers," all the envoys should publicly leave Bern; then that identical notes of the Powers should be issued to threaten Bern; and, finally, that armed intervention should follow. Louis Philippe and Guizot drew back, in consideration of public opinion in France, from such radical measures, preferring to support the Sonderbund with weapons that could be smuggled in.

But from London Metternich received a plain and definite answer. In July, 1846, the Tory ministry of Peel and Aberdeen had given way in England to a Whig ministry, with Lord John Russell as Prime Minister and Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary. The new British Cabinet stood alone in understanding and sympathising with the efforts of Liberal Switzerland. Moreover, the great British historian of Greece, George Grote, during his stay in Switzerland in 1847, showed his sympathy in the excellent letters he published in the *Spectator* about Swiss affairs, which he depicted in quite another light than that in which they were shown in the half-official Press of Germany and France.

Palmerston had also his special reasons for frustrating the Swiss policy of Metternich and of Guizot. At the end of 1846 France destroyed the Entente between the two western Powers by the breach of faith shown by the double "Spanish marriages," of the Spanish queen, Isabella, with the Bourbon Francesco de Assisi, and of her sister with the Duke of Montpensier, Louis Philippe's son, through which the French king hoped to secure a preponderating influence in Spain.

On November 6th, 1846, Austria, speculating on the ruin of the Entente, annexed the republic of Cracow, the last remnant of independent Poland, and expected to evade the objections raised by England with impunity. But Palmerston was not the man to allow himself to be treated in this fashion. He paid back both Louis Philippe for the Spanish marriages, and Austria for the annexation of Cracow, by supporting the Liberals and Radicals in Switzerland who were opposed by those two Powers. In principle he was for the non-intervention of the Powers in Swiss affairs. But, instead of simply standing aside, he did more and what was better for Switzerland. Apparently agreeing to the plans of the other Cabinets, he managed, by skill and good fortune, to get into his hands the leadership of the campaign against Switzerland, to blunt its edge, and to delay it till it came too late.

In June, 1847, Metternich invited Guizot to prepare a note for the four Continental Powers, stating that they would not permit a violation of the sovereignty of the Cantons or any breach of the peace. Guizot finally consented to advance "from moral to material intervention," but urged that Austria with her troops should start the armed intervention, after which France would come in; in other words, that Austria should take on herself the odium of the intervention, and that France should play the more gracious rôle of the apparent champion of Federal independence. This was the meaning which Metternich at least attached to the clever move of Guizot, for he did not wish to have a repetition of the "Anconade[1]" of 1832. But the protectors of the Sonderbund in east and west deeply distrusted each other, and that as a matter of principle. Hence Guizot applied again to Palmerston, and so gave him the opportunity of watering down the intervention of the Powers to a mediation, to be based on the representations of the Powers in Rome in order to obtain the withdrawal of the Jesuits from Lucerne. As the Continental Powers did not pay much attention to his despatches, Palmerston acted on his own account, and in September commissioned Lord Minto, then making a journey in Italy, to secure from the Pope the withdrawal of the Jesuits.

In the place of the Conservative Morier (who in 1846 had left Switzerland "on leave") his young and pleasure-loving secretary

[1] On February 22nd, 1832, France had replied to the advance of Austrian troops into the States of the Church by the occupation of Ancona.

of legation, Sir Robert Peel (son of the famous statesman), acted as chargé d'affaires at Bern. The legations of the eastern Powers, following out the aforesaid programme of Metternich, transferred their residence to Zurich at the end of 1846; and the French envoy made a journey the excuse for not paying the usual official New Year's visits in the new capital, Bern. But Peel remained quietly in Bern, and did not hesitate to communicate with the Radical government there. When the former leader of the Volunteers, Ochsenbein, became, on June 1st, 1847, president of the Bernese government, and so "President of the Confederation," Peel, with the foreknowledge of Palmerston, paid the President an official visit, and in August showed him an autograph despatch of Palmerston, in which he praised the "well known" energy of the President as forming a guarantee for the preservation of order in Switzerland.

The exchange of despatches between the Courts took a considerable length of time, and this was well employed by the Diet. Dufour's campaign had already begun by the time Guizot had at last prepared, on November 7th, the draft of a note, in which the Powers came forward as mediators between the two warring parties in Switzerland, and proposed to determine its future in a Conference. Palmerston saw in this draft of Guizot a trap to draw "England at the tail of the French government into the camp of the Sonderbund." On November 18th he put forth an alternative note which watered down the meditated armed mediation into a non-obligatory offer of mediation which would entail no consequences if declined by Switzerland, and by his well-calculated delay nearly drove Guizot to despair[1].

On November 26th the two Powers were at length agreed as to

[1] According to certain accounts Peel, the British chargé d'affaires, gave Dufour, before the taking of Lucerne, through his chaplain, Mr Temperley, the hint: "Dépêchez-vous!" Dufour protests most decidedly against this statement, as if some external influence had been brought to bear upon him in order to accelerate military events. He admits the fact that on the evening of the decisive day of the campaign, November 23rd, in his headquarters at Sins, he did receive a visit from this ecclesiastic, who announced himself as the agent of the British chargé d'affaires, and desired to see things closer at hand in order to be able to give precise information concerning them. The General, however, answered that it was impossible for him to allow of the presence of a non-interested person in his General Staff, and induced him to return. He declares that neither the English chargé d'affaires nor any other of the agents accredited in Switzerland had attempted to exercise pressure in any way upon his decisions, and we have no reason not to give credit to this assertion by Dufour.

the text of the note. On November 28th Palmerston despatched the trusty Stratford Canning to Switzerland to deliver the note agreed upon. On November 30th, the day after the Sonderbund had ceased to exist, the French envoy delivered the note to the ruling Canton; and his example was followed by the Austrian, Prussian and Russian envoys. But Canning quietly kept his note in his pocket, since the offer of mediation was now superfluous. The same view was expressed by the Diet on December 7th, when it declined in principle any interference on the part of foreign Powers in the internal affairs of Switzerland.

The Continental Powers, which did not appreciate the derision excited by their diplomacy, now resolved to continue without England. Two special envoys, with full powers, from Austria and Prussia, Colloredo and Radowitz, arrived in Paris, in order to come to a direct understanding with Guizot. Their agreement was to the effect that the "Twelve Cantons" should be required to evacuate the territory of the "Sonderbund" Cantons, and to agree to disarmament and the renunciation of any alteration of the Pact of 1815 without the unanimous consent of all the Cantons; but that, if these conditions were refused, measures of force would be considered. *Pro formâ* Guizot asked Palmerston to take part in these fresh steps; but he declined, because England had not delivered the note of November 30th, and therefore had received no answer to it, while he could not understand how the treaties of 1815 conferred any right to interfere in this manner. The Paris revolution of February, 1848, put a sudden end to all further action of the Continental Powers. But Switzerland, by her steadfast resistance to the Sonderbund, which had been protected by these Powers, had won definitive freedom from the yoke of the foreigner, which had weighed upon her since 1798, and also her re-entry into the ranks of the States which were genuinely independent. The service which in this matter free England had rendered her cannot and never will be forgotten.

4

ENGLAND AND THE NEUCHÂTEL AFFAIR

In the Neuchâtel affair also, which from 1848 onwards hung as a threatening storm cloud on the horizon of the newly-founded Confederation, England showed herself consistently as the friend of

Switzerland. So early as November, 1849, the Prussian minister in London had pressed for the recognition of the rights of his king over Neuchâtel in virtue of the treaties of 1815. But it was only when that minister, Bunsen, promised that the king would refrain for the time being from the practical exercise of his rights, that Palmerston gave him a note recognising these rights, and hinted at the aid of England if a friendly solution of this question could be reached with Switzerland. When the three eastern Powers proposed in August, 1851, to erect Neuchâtel into a State separated from Switzerland and merely allied with her, and that under the suzerainty of the king of Prussia, Palmerston resisted this plan most firmly.

In January, 1852, Bunsen presented to Lord Granville, the successor of Palmerston, a memorandum about Neuchâtel. In order to put an end to the ceaseless insistence of the king of Prussia on this question, and to hold him back from taking dangerous steps, it seemed best to tie him down by a formal diplomatic document. It was the time when the Powers sought somehow to get Louis Napoleon (who by the *coup d'état* of December 2nd had made himself master of France) to acknowledge himself bound by the treaties of 1815, while on his side he was trying to gain the favour of the Courts with a view to the restoration of the French Empire. So the representatives of the Five Powers signed on May 8th in London a Protocol, which settled the question of the succession to the throne of Denmark, together with the Schleswig-Holstein question, and on May 24th a second document which recognised the rights of Prussia over Neuchâtel, and hinted at joint negotiations with Switzerland; but it was left to the Powers to fix the moment, opportunity, and place for these negotiations, and Prussia had to bind herself not to assert her rights in any other fashion. The document was therefore a Platonic recognition of the rights of the king, which bound him not to use any force. An attempt of Frederick William IV in December, 1853, to make his neutrality in the Crimean war depend (*inter alia*) on the return of Neuchâtel did not find acceptance with the new British Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon. Further, the representatives of France and England firmly opposed the attempt of Prussia, at the Congress of Paris (April 8th, 1856), to bring the Neuchâtel question on the tapis.

The revolt of the Neuchâtel royalists in the night of Septem-

ber 23rd, 1856, brought the latent crisis to a head. Hitherto every attempt of Switzerland to come to a friendly understanding with the king of Prussia had failed owing to his obstinacy. Now it had at last, in the shape of the captured royalists, a handle with which to bring about the decision of the question. It was known in Bern that the king could not possibly leave in the lurch the men who, with his foreknowledge, had organised this rising. It was not through disputatiousness or from democratic insolence (so Sybel explains the matter), but because it was inspired by the firm resolve to use this occasion for definitively ending the Neuchâtel question, that the Federal Executive allowed the trial of the royalists to drag on, and declined to be moved by the Prussian or French threats to give up its security—the captured royalists—until it thought that it was sure of success.

It was a consideration of great importance that the Federal Executive felt that at least one of the Five Powers—England—was unreservedly on its side. So early as September 15th Clarendon instructed the British envoy in Bern, Gordon, to recommend the Federal Executive to use its victory with moderation, and "to seize the opportunity of settling the dispute with Prussia as to Neuchâtel." This advice exactly met the intentions of the Federal Executive, which in its first message to the Federal Assembly (September 23rd) declared that it would refuse most decidedly to open any diplomatic negotiations which did not rest on the principle of the complete independence of Neuchâtel.

There is no doubt that Frederick William IV could have been induced without great difficulty to renounce his rights over Neuchâtel if France had joined England in persuading him to take this step. On September 22nd the President of the Prussian Council of Ministers, Manteuffel, told the British envoy in Berlin, Lord Bloomfield, that the king was disposed to make this renunciation if he could be assured that certain religious and charitable institutions should continue to exist, that the privileges of certain classes should not be touched, and that he should be allowed to continue the use of the title "Prince of Neuchâtel." But the oscillations of the policy pursued by Napoleon III did not allow him to adopt such a clear-cut policy, for, without breaking with England, he courted also the friendship of Russia and Prussia, and in general desired to play the part of arbitrator in Europe. The autograph letters of

Frederick William IV, in which, "with a bleeding heart and with tears in his eyes," he called for the help of Napoleon against "Republican impertinences," flattered Napoleon's self-love. They also moved him on September 30th to press verbally through his envoy in Bern, Fénelon, for the release of the captives; if this wish could be met, he thought he could contribute to the happy solution of the question; otherwise Switzerland might be entangled in very serious complications—in short she might be threatened by an army of 100,000 men.

Switzerland was thus to exchange the sure pledge which she possessed in the captives for the vague assertions of the doubtful friend on the Seine, that he thought he could contribute to the happy solution of the question. Stämpfli, the President of the Confederation, refused this offer courteously but firmly; on the other hand the Federal Executive was ready to propose to the Federal Assembly an amnesty, provided that, at the same time, a solution of the main question could be regarded as assured in the sense of the complete independence of Neuchâtel. Stämpfli could give no other answer to the Russian and Austrian envoys, who also demanded the immediate and unconditional release of the captives.

England alone declined to require from Switzerland this unconditional release of the captives. Instead, she took much trouble to prepare the ground for the clearing away of all doubts in a manner which should be honourable for both parties. On October 4th Clarendon telegraphed to Lord Bloomfield that in his opinion a compromise on the basis of the complete independence of Neuchâtel was the only method of obtaining the release of the captives. After at first resisting, Manteuffel declared on October 13th to the British envoy "in the strictest confidence, and without authorising him to inform the Swiss of this declaration," that the king was ready to renounce his rights, with three reservations, (1) continuance of the use of the title of "Prince," (2) retention of his private property in Neuchâtel, and (3) a guarantee for certain religious and charitable institutions. Without troubling himself much as to the confidential character of this communication, Clarendon through Gordon put (October 25th) the question to Stämpfli whether the Federal Executive would bring about the release of the captives in return for the confidential assurance of Prussia to England that she would be satisfied to renounce her rights, with the three reservations

just mentioned. The Federal Executive on October 29th declared that it was ready to accept this proposal, with two reservations: (1) that domain-lands and sources of income which the king possessed in Neuchâtel as the lord of the land should not be held to fall under the head of "private property"; and (2) that a guarantee for the charitable and religious institutions could only be undertaken by the Confederation. Clarendon thought that the Federal Executive had thus given a proof of its peaceful spirit, and invited France, together with England, to make the conditions of Switzerland known in Berlin.

But Napoleon declined this joint action; for meanwhile he had, at the renewed request of Frederick William IV, begun his second intervention in Switzerland by his letter (October 24th) to Dufour. In this he engaged, in the event of the unconditional release of the captives, to solve the Neuchâtel question in a sense that should be advantageous for Switzerland; otherwise he would not prevent the march of Prussian troops into the Grand Duchy of Baden. The Federal Executive did not wish to offend the powerful Emperor, and determined to send a confidential envoy (Dufour) to Paris. It knew now from England that Frederick William IV was ready to renounce Neuchâtel, but it knew also that he wished to attach to this renunciation certain conditions, as to which it was necessary to be prudent. Dufour was instructed to agree to no reservations which would in any way include the dependence of Neuchâtel on a foreign Power, or involve any limit of its rights to internal legislation and administration. As a matter of fact the king had added for Napoleon to his three conditions (which were to be kept secret from Switzerland) a fourth—the restoration of the four "Bourgeoisies" of Neuchâtel, Valangin, Landeron and Boudry—a condition which could not be accepted by Switzerland, as it involved an interference in the internal business of the Canton, and would have kept open for Prussia a pretext for revoking the promise, given to Napoleon, to renounce his claims on Neuchâtel. Dufour was charged also to require that the renunciation by the king should be officially announced at the same time as the amnesty, or else that "guarantees of equal value" should be secured to Switzerland. By that expression the Federal Executive understood that England as well as France would engage to work for the renunciation by Prussia.

Dufour and the permanent Swiss minister in Paris, Barmann, sought to attain this agreement between the two Powers. But it was a moment when profound ill-humour existed between France

and England by reason of their different policies towards Russia and Turkey. England had no intention of simply following the French lead. On November 25th Clarendon caused it to be known in Bern that, if France refused to support the steps taken by England in Berlin, the British government would not give way, because the principle of the proposed compromise seemed to rest on a knowledge of the intentions of the king of Prussia which it did not possess. If the prisoners were released, he was indeed willing to endeavour, in conjunction with France, to induce Prussia to agree to the wishes of the Swiss, but he could not guarantee that the concession would attain its object.

That was a warning to Switzerland to think twice before she gave up her pledge. On November 26th Fénelon delivered a written note in which no mention was made of the co-operation of England. Napoleon promised to use "all his efforts," if the captives were released, to induce the king to consent to a renunciation, but he would give no guarantee that this renunciation would be made, or that the king's conditions would be acceptable. The Federal Executive could now do nothing else but persist in its refusal, for a definitive agreement might fail all too easily because of the conditions placed on his renunciation by the king; it was not possible to put greater confidence in the intentions of Prussia unless the Emperor should be acquainted with, and explain, the conditions which the king intended to lay down, and would declare that these conditions were not in contradiction with the complete independence of Neuchâtel. Apart from this mistrust, felt by the Federal Executive, of the conditions contemplated by Prussia, the Federal Council had another ground for its refusal: Switzerland desired, as Stämpfli had said to Gordon, to give no opportunity to Napoleon to assume the title of "Médiateur de la Suisse." She saw in the passing-over of England in this attempt at mediation a danger for her independence.

Napoleon's self-love was wounded. For the second time Switzerland had refused his wishes, expressed in the most formal manner; as a penalty, she must now be terrified by preparations for war. He encouraged Prussia to make a military demonstration, and persuaded the South German Courts to abandon their resistance to the march of Prussian forces through their territories. On December 18th Prussia broke off diplomatic relations with Switzerland; and it was stated that she intended to mobilise on January 2nd.

But Switzerland did not allow herself to be intimidated by this threat of war; she regarded it seriously, and prepared herself accordingly. She took all the necessary measures for the defence of the country, placed the whole of her army in readiness for war, under the command of the conqueror of the Sonderbund, Dufour, and threw forward a part of it to the threatened frontier. The war-like spirit of the old Confederation awoke among the people.

Nowhere was that better understood than in England. Clarendon wrote on January 2nd, 1857, to Gordon: "You can assure the President that the interests and honour of Switzerland are close to our heart, and that we will consent to nothing which cannot be well accepted by the Federal government. The behaviour of Switzerland and, I venture to say, of the Federal Executive, is admirable; and, happen what may, it will enormously increase the respect which all those feel for the Confederation whose views are not inspired by hatred of Liberal institutions." Meanwhile, England did all that she could in order to prevent the mobilisation in Berlin. On December 24th Clarendon reminded Prussia of the guaranteed inviolability of Swiss territory, and on December 31st of the king's promise, made in the London Protocol of 1852, to renounce the employment of force. On January 2nd he sent to Lord Bloomfield a despatch, the tone of which made Manteuffel's "hair stand straight up on his head."

No one was in greater perplexity than Napoleon III, who really did not wish that matters should come to war, and would gladly have banished the spirits which he had summoned from the deep. He therefore offered his good services again through Barmann to the Federal Executive, and instructed him to make new proposals of whatever kind they might be. The Federal Executive sent an old friend of Napoleon's, Kern of Thurgau, as a special envoy to Paris, which he reached on January 1st, 1857. Kern was instructed to obtain more solid guarantees of the renunciation by Prussia, among them once more the co-operation of England. The new note of January 5th, which Kern concerted with Napoleon, was by no means simply a repetition of the former note; the Imperial government undertook the solemn obligation to spare no exertions in order, after the release of the captives, to bring about a settlement which should satisfy the desires of Switzerland, and should secure the entire independence of Neuchâtel; at the same time the Emperor declared himself contented with the temporary exile of the accused

from Switzerland, and gave the assurance that he would welcome with the most lively pleasure the co-operation of the British government. The verbal assurances of the Emperor to Kern convinced the Federal Executive that it would attain its object by the release of the captives. The British ambassador in Paris, Lord Cowley, indeed, simply repeated the earlier declaration of Clarendon, dated November 25th; but Kern telegraphed to Bern that his legation possessed a note from England, stating that she would unite with the efforts of France, but not mentioning the reservation that she could not guarantee success. The *Bund* newspaper (considered to be the semi-official organ of the Federal Executive) spread the news that the French Emperor was now offering his services in conjunction with England. The committee of the *Nationalrat* for the Neuchâtel question did not ignore the difference between the statements of France and England; but it nevertheless shared with the Federal Executive the conviction that, by releasing the captives, Switzerland would attain its chief object. On January 15th–16th the Federal Parliament accepted its conclusions with a majority which was all but unanimous.

The success of the French intervention created such confidence in the mind of the king of Prussia that on January 27th he wished to put before Switzerland, at the approaching Conference, certain impertinent demands. Napoleon too, after he had secured the fulfilment of his own wishes, was in no great hurry to fulfil those of the Swiss. But England kept a tight hold on him, and urged him to execute the promises he had made. On February 3rd the two western Powers agreed not to admit any conditions laid down by Prussia which were not compatible with the complete independence of Neuchâtel. On February 9th France invited the Powers to the Conference; and on the 12th Clarendon informed the Federal Executive that in the Conference England would support all the requests of Switzerland. She kept her word most honourably. Bismarck wrote from Paris on April 24th that Russia had always upheld the views of Prussia, and that the opposition always came from England, which was supported regularly by Austria. France had sometimes tried to win ground from England, but finally had always subordinated her conduct to the necessity of not compromising her relations with that country. So England, during the Neuchâtel affair, from beginning to end, proved herself the unswerving friend of Switzerland.

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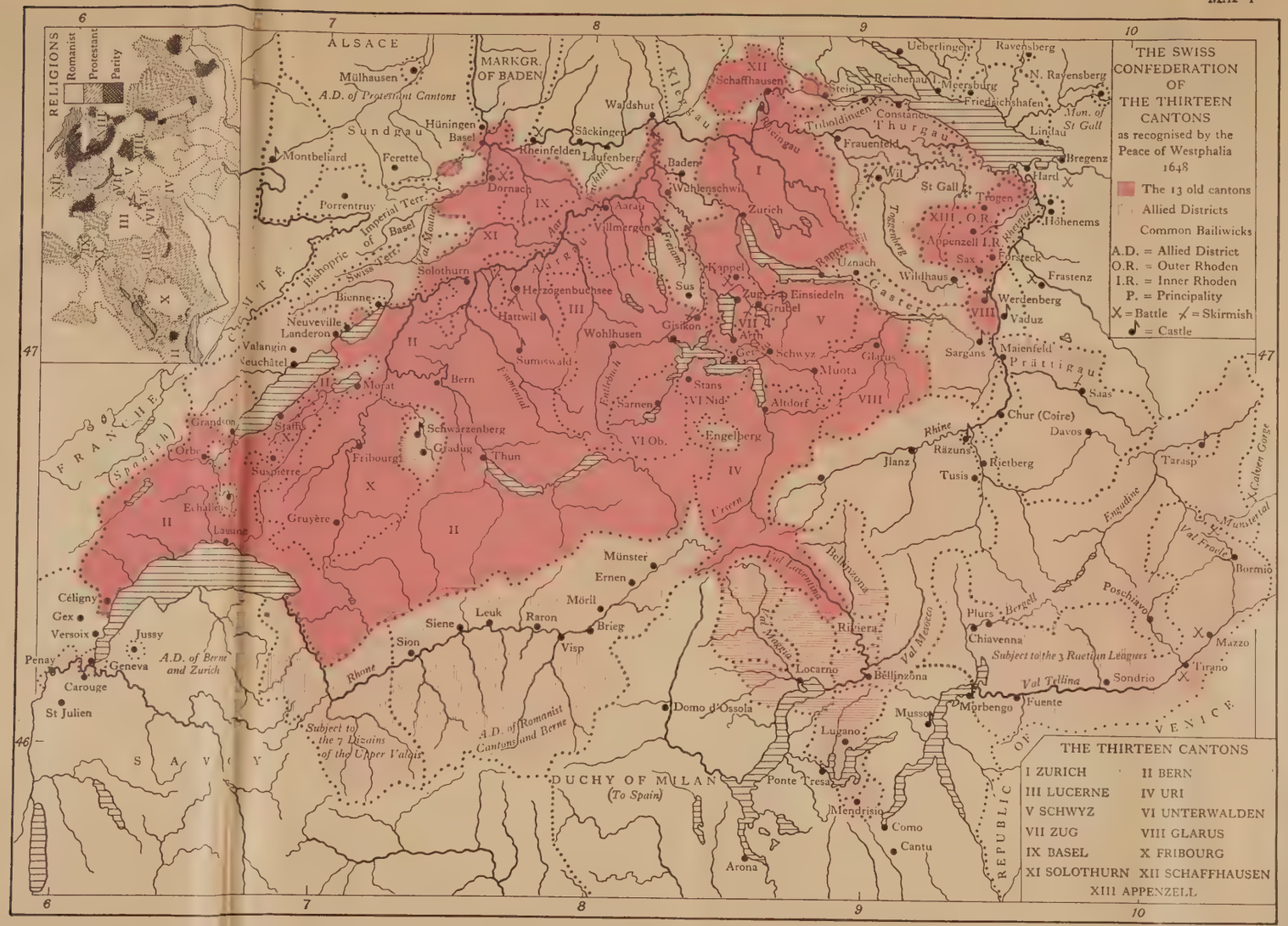
THE SWISS CONFEDERATION OF THE THIRTEEN CANTONS as recognised by the Peace of Westphalia 1648
The 13 old cantons
Allied Districts
Common Bailiwicks
A.D. = Allied District
O.R. = Outer Rhoden
I.R. = Inner Rhoden
P. = Principality
X = Battle ✓ = Skirmish
♪ = Castle
RELIGIONS
Romanist
Protestant
Parity
THE THIRTEEN CANTONS
I ZURICH
II BERN
III LUCERNE
IV URI
V SCHWYZ
VI UNTERWALDEN
VII ZUG
VIII GLARUS
IX BASEL
X FRIBOURG
XI SOLOTHURN
XII SCHAFFHAUSEN
XIII APPENZELL
ALSACE
MARKGR. OF BADEN
SWITZERLAND
DUCHY OF MILAN (To Spain)
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
FRANCHE COMTÉ (Spanish)
SAVOY
Mülhausen
A.D. of Protestant Cantons
Sundgau
Hüningen
Basel
Montbeliard
Ferette
Porrentruy
Imperial Terr.
Bishopric of Basel
Swiss Terr.
Dornach
Rheinfelden
Säckingen
Laufenberg
Waldshut
Klettgau
Schaffhausen
Ueberlingen
Ravensberg
N. Ravensberg
Friedrichshafen
Mon. of St Gall
Lindau
Bregenz
Hard
Reichenau
Meersburg
Constance
Thurgau
Tribolding
Frauenfeld
Wil
St Gall
Trogen
Höhenems
Appenzell I.R.
Appenzell O.R.
Rheintal
Toggenburg
Rapperswil
Uznach
Wildhaus
Sax
Forstegg
Frastenz
Werdenberg
Vaduz
Maienfeld
Sargans
Prättigau
Saas
Chur (Coire)
Davos
Räzuns
Rietberg
Tusis
Tarasp
Jlanz
Rhine
Engadine
Münsterthal
Val Froula
Bormio
Calven Gorge
Poschiavo
Mazzo
Tirano
Sondrio
Val Tellina
Fuente
Morbengo
Musso
Chiavenna
Plurs
Bergell
Subject to the 3 Raetian Leagues
Bellinzona
Riviera
Val Maggia
Val Mesocco
Locarno
Lugano
Ponte
Tresa
Mendrisio
Como
Cantu
Arona
Domo d'Ossola
Val Leventina
Bellenzona
Gotthard
Furca
Grimsel
Brünig
Surenen
Susten
Wetterhorn
Aar
Reuss
Limmat
Sihl
Linth
Zurich
Einsiedeln
Küssnacht
Arth
Goldau
Schwyz
Gersau
Brunnen
Stans
Sarnen
Altdorf
Uri
Glarus
Muota
Wesen
Kappel
Zug
Gisikon
Sus
Lucerne
Entlebuch
Emmental
Sumiswald
Wohlhusen
Hattwil
Herzogenbuchsee
Aarau
Aargau
Villmergen
Freiam
Baden
Wohlenschwil
Brugg
Zurzach
Rheinau
Thurgau
Tribolding
Solothurn
Val Moutier
Bienne
Neuveville
Landeron
Valangin
Neuchâtel
Morat
Bern
Grandson
Orbe
Echallens
Lausanne
Yverdon
Schwarzenberg
Gruyère
Fribourg
Thun
Susperre
Staffis
Céligny
Gex
Versoix
Jussy
Penay
Geneva
Carouge
St Julien
A.D. of Berne and Zurich
Münster
Ernen
Mörill
Brieg
Visp
Siene
Leuk
Raron
Sion
Rhone
Subject to the 7 Dizains of the Upper Valais
A.D. of Romanist Cantons and Berne
Jura
Val Moutier
Imperial Terr.
Basel
Bishopric
Swiss Terr.
Aargau
Freiam
Rheintal
Toggenburg
Rapperswil
Gaster
Sax
Forstegg
Frastenz
Werdenberg
Vaduz
Maienfeld
Sargans
Prättigau
Saas
Chur (Coire)
Davos
Räzuns
Rietberg
Tusis
Tarasp
Jlanz
Rhine
Engadine
Münsterthal
Val Froula
Bormio
Calven Gorge
Poschiavo
Mazzo
Tirano
Sondrio
Val Tellina
Fuente
Morbengo
Musso
Chiavenna
Plurs
Bergell
Subject to the 3 Raetian Leagues
Bellinzona
Riviera
Val Maggia
Val Mesocco
Locarno
Lugano
Ponte
Tresa
Mendrisio
Como
Cantu
Arona
Domo d'Ossola
Val Leventina
Bellenzona
Gotthard
Furca
Grimsel
Brünig
Surenen
Susten
Wetterhorn
Aar
Reuss
Limmat
Sihl
Linth
Zurich
Einsiedeln
Küssnacht
Arth
Goldau
Schwyz
Gersau
Brunnen
Stans
Sarnen
Altdorf
Uri
Glarus
Muota
Wesen
Kappel
Zug
Gisikon
Sus
Lucerne
Entlebuch
Emmental
Sumiswald
Wohlhusen
Hattwil
Herzogenbuchsee
Aarau
Aargau
Villmergen
Freiam
Baden
Wohlenschwil
Brugg
Zurzach
Rheinau
Thurgau
Tribolding
Solothurn
Val Moutier
Bienne
Neuveville
Landeron
Valangin
Neuchâtel
Morat
Bern
Grandson
Orbe
Echallens
Lausanne
Yverdon
Schwarzenberg
Gruyère
Fribourg
Thun
Susperre
Staffis
Céligny
Gex
Versoix
Jussy
Penay
Geneva
Carouge
St Julien
A.D. of Berne and Zurich
Münster
Ernen
Mörill
Brieg
Visp
Siene
Leuk
Raron
Sion
Rhone
Subject to the 7 Dizains of the Upper Valais
A.D. of Romanist Cantons and Berne
Jura
6
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